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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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1 August 1983

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No. 2827

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ANGOLA

BULGARIAN MAGAZINE INTERVIEWS DEFENSE MINISTER

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 8 Jun 83 p 1

[Report on interview with Pedro Maria Tonha, Angolan minister of defense, by the Bulgarian magazine PO SVETA, in Sofia, date not specified]

[Text] Sofia--"The racist South African regime is waging an undeclared war against the People's Republic of Angola," Angolan Defense Minister Pedro Maria Tomha (Pedale) declared to the Bulgarian magazine PO SVETA.

Noting that, in the last 2 years, troops of Pretoria's racist army have repeatedly invaded Angolan territory, Tonha stressed that the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and the residents of the affected zones have responded by driving off the attackers.

In the interview granted to the Bulgarian magazine, the Angolan defense minister also discussed some aspects of the criminal activities of members of the puppet group UNITA, who are provided with weapons and ammunition by South Africa.

Despite this climate of war orchestrated by the imperialists to prevent the construction of a socialist nation in Angola, Tonha declared that, day by day, the Angolan people, led by the MPLA-Labor Party, are building the foundations for the new society.

The defense minister also addressed the Namibian problem, declaring that the Angolan government is making every effort to arrive at a just solution to the problem. It is simply up to the South African Government and the Contact Group to actually implement UN Security Council Resolution 435.

6362  
CSS: 3442/272

JOHANNESBURG ON UNITA'S POSITION IN ANGOLA

MB201718 Johannesburg International Service in English 1500 GMT 20 Jul 83

[Station commentary: "UNITA's Position in Angola"]

[Text] During the past week a 4-man committee of the European Parliament spent 5 days in the UNITA-controlled territory of Angola. Its visit is significant in more ways than one. It is the first time that the Common Market has had any contact with Dr Jonas Savimbi's UNITA movement, which has been fighting MPLA government and Cuban forces for the past 8 years.

The comments in the committee have confirmed the fact that UNITA is in control of much of Angola. The British Euro member of Parliament, Sir (James Scott-Hopkins), said on his return to London that he and his colleagues from France, West Germany, and Belgium were convinced that UNITA was now in control of two-thirds of the war-torn country. He said that unless the Soviet Union deployed, as he put it, an enormous quantity of men and arms in Angola, UNITA would win the struggle. UNITA's Paris office reports that during the committee's visit to Dr Savimbi's command post at Jumba in southern Angola he called for unconditional negotiations with the Luanda government in restoring unity in the country. Dr Savimbi said that although there were no preconditions for negotiations the Cuban forces would have to go before a settlement could be reached.

It is widely accepted that the Soviet Union is the main stumbling block to a Cuban withdrawal from Angola. UNITA wants it, the United States wants it, South Africa wants it, and there are indications that Angolan President dos Santos has become disenchanted with the Soviets for not providing the aid they had promised. The Cubans have managed to prop up the MPLA government for the past 8 years through force of arms, but they have been unable to resolve the escalating civil war and bring stability.

The United States has been pressing hard for the withdrawal of the Cubans, as it realizes that this offers the hope of internal stability in Angola. In turn it has promised full diplomatic relations between the two countries, with all the accompanying economic benefits. The United States is among those who realize that given the fact that Dr Savimbi has a large following, controls, and effectively administers much of Angola, and is militarily strong, the country's immediate problems would have to be resolved through direct talks between the MPLA and UNITA. This, says Dr Savimbi, will occur only when the Cubans have gone, and that in turn depends on the Soviets.

CSO: 3400/1666

#### CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE, WAR STRATEGY

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 10 Jun 83 pp 1, 2.

[Text] The People's Republic of Angola is preparing to introduce significant changes in the structures of the executive branch to make it more efficient and also to review its war strategy, now considered to be an overly defensive, conventional war strategy, especially when fighting UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

In government, currently all ministers have direct, immediate access to the head of state, with whom they transact business and to whom they are directly subordinate; since the president of the republic is overburdened, this makes their work less efficient.

EXPRESSO learned from a reliable source that government business will be grouped according to areas of similar interests, placing at the head of each area a coordinator or superminister to whom the respective minister will be subordinate and with whom they will meet weekly. There will perhaps be eight areas directly subordinate to an equal number of superministers. The plenary session of the executive branch will meet only once a month or at even longer intervals and will be chaired by the head of state.

#### Priority Given to Trade

In other news, the trade sector will receive greater attention from the government. One such indication is that the political philosophy of the MPLA still in effect considered agriculture the basic sector for national development and industry the decisive sector. The focus will change: trade, in the official language, will replace industry as the decisive sector.

In fact, the problem of marketing goods, done thus far in a highly unsatisfactory manner, has been responsible for the extremely low standard of living of the people while producers have no guarantee that their commodities can be shipped out. For this reason, there will be a major liberalization even though the difficulties are enormous from the Angolan point of view where no tradition of trading among the local peoples exists. A high Angolan authority told us that "a good number of merchants came from Zaire, had a center in Angola but the headquarters were in Kinshasa while another group had its headquarters in Lisbon," making smuggling easier and more tempting.

### Negotiations with UNITA

Negotiations with UNITA will be even more remote according to the dominant official view. The loss of Mendes de Carvalho's influence, which ended with his removal from the government, could be a sign of this. Moreover, Luanda will step up its war against Jonas Savimbi's movement, training special brigades for offensive action in zones he controls. Thus far, the MPLA troops have also had to deal with the South African offensive but this task will be given primarily to Cubans. According to all indications, the Cubans will not be leaving Angola soon. In fact, the Front Line countries do not believe that South Africa is serious about negotiating the independence of Namibia, viewing the demand for the withdrawal of the Cubans, encouraged and supported by the United States, as a maneuver to gain time and indefinitely delay the issue. The Angolans feel that the Cubans' withdrawal has nothing to do with the independence of Namibia. Nevertheless, the same Angolans have already agreed to negotiate the withdrawal of the Cubans with Cuba, if they have guarantees from South Africa to withdrawal from its territory and cease its attacks. French President Mitterrand will be a guarantor of the Angolan word. Nevertheless, the United States and South Africa continue to sing the same tune, refusing to deal with the fundamental problems and Mitterrand's mediation.

9479  
CSO: 3442/268

ANGOLA

FISHING COOPERATION WITH SPAIN DESCRIBED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 15 May 83 p 1

[Text] Madrid--Emilio Guerra, Angolan minister of fisheries, who has been in Spain since Monday on an official visit, said yesterday that "fishing relations between Spain and Angola are positive."

During his visit to Spain, Guerra has met with Spanish fishing authorities to discuss the 1-year extension of the existing fishing accord between the two countries, and has gone to Vigo and to the Canary Islands to tour the shipyards and other Spanish fishing installations.

The Spanish-Angolan fishing accord was signed on 11 June 1980 to cover a 3-year period and will automatically be extended to June 1984 unless it has been rejected by one of the parties.

Under the terms of the agreement, 75 Spanish vessels work in Angolan waters; 24 of them are fishing for tuna and 50 for shellfish.

Among other provisions of the accord, 84 Angolan students are being trained at Spanish naval-fishing institutions and 5 are attending the university.

In addition, Spanish professors are teaching courses in Angola on the dynamics of [fish] populations; Spanish technicians have conducted scientific studies of cephalopods and a general study of fishing installations in Angola. [Spain] also conducts various activities in Angola, such as installing a cold storage complex and repairing the "jurel" plant in Tombua, formerly Porto Alexandre.

In Spanish shipyards, 37 ships, valued at \$64 million, are being built for Angola.

The specification of the fishing equipment to be installed in each of these vessels is among the specific reasons for Guerra's visit to Spain, among with monitoring the implementation of other items in the agreement.

Guerra indicated that his country is interested in having technical cadres trained in Spain.

"Manpower training is essential for our development and the functioning of our technology--technology which we have purchased from Spain and the training in Spain of our manpower for both sea and land operations," Emilio Guerra declared in a press conference.

He added that the Angolan Government would like to see cooperation increase in this area and would like Angolan students to have access not only to basic schools but also to higher institutions, such as the university, to study biology, oceanography and veterinary medicine.

The next meeting of the Joint Commission may possibly take place at the end of this year.

"It is necessary to update the contract, because it is a little outdated, considering that it was negotiated 3 years ago," the Angolan minister said.

He indicated that the best way to cement fishing relations would be through the formation of joint companies. He added that, in addition to the fishing sector, there are possibilities in the area of trade exchange.

Regarding political relations between the two governments, the minister said: "They are good; there are no obstacles of any kind."

Emilio Guerra should return to Angola tomorrow.

6362

CSO: 3442/272

SALT PRODUCTION DOWN 77 PERCENT

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 27 May 83 p 2

[Text] Salt production in Angola has plummeted; it is down about 77 percent, reports NOVEMBRO magazine in its latest issue.

According to the magazine, production stood at over 125,000 tons in 1972; in 1982 it reached only 58,000 tons. Of these, only about 4 tons were distributed for consumption.

The magazine continues: "The crisis in the sector, which comprises 28 saltworks distributed over the northern and southern zones and the central zone (the only one in which there are purification plants), is characterized by the destruction of a large number of 'canatarios,' because the saltworks have been abandoned by the workers as a result of the poor social conditions."

Rundown equipment, inadequate maintenance, lack of transportation and organization, as well as the lack of capital, which has been the case for years, have also caused the crisis in the salt production sector.

To overcome this situation, which has forced our country to import salt, the government contracted the Cuban firm ECIMETAL to design a general plan for the reactivation and modernization of the national salt production sector. In April 1983 the study was presented to the ministries of Industry and Fisheries, which are responsible for the exploitation of the saltworks.

NOVEMBRO reports that the general plan recommends, over a period of 2 years, the technical, technological and organizational restructuring of the sector to re-launch it along new lines, the rational distribution and utilization of the existing cadres and the training of new cadres.

According to the magazine, once these actions are taken, the northern zone will be expected to produce 6,900 tons; the central zone 98,000 tons and the southern zone 21,200 tons, for a total of 126,200 tons.

In conclusion, NOVEMBRO notes that, bearing in mind a substantial increase in the population by the year 2000, the report points to some production alternatives which would yield 300,000 tons in a first phase, 500,000 tons in the second phase and, in the third phase, 635,000 tons.

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CSO: 3442/272

**MINISTER GOMES ON AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS**

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 5 Jun 83 p 1

[Text] Benguela--Agriculture Minister Artur Vidal Gomes (Kundi Diezabo) said Friday that the progress seen in the sector was because of the committed efforts by the local party and government organs to eliminate the problems.

Speaking with newsmen at the end of a 4-day visit, Gomes added that, to increase the agricultural acreage in the province, a dam will be built in Hanha de Norte Municipio and another dam, to serve the Camuvi Agricultural Complex, will be built in Chingoroi Municipio. The two dams will be included in the technical-economic plan of his ministry for next year.

The agriculture minister assured that, as far as possible, his ministry will assist private farmers in the Cavaco complex; the support will be conditional on the implementation of the production program, the presentation of technical-financial plans and distribution of the private farmers' produce through the channels of the complex.

Evaluating the status of agriculture in the country, Gomes described it as lacking machinery and spare parts, which, as he acknowledged, led to the practice of rehabilitating one piece of equipment with parts from others, resulting in the loss of the latter.

In this regard, he stressed that the Agriculture Ministry will give priority to the rehabilitation of the machinery park. He noted: "For example, we have equipment in Benguela which was imported between 1977 and 1979. Some of the machines are missing parts and are not adaptable to our situation."

Asked about actions to be taken by his ministry as part of the General Emergency Plan, Gomes said that efforts will be concentrated on production of grains, oleaginous seeds, cassava, potatoes, bananas, eggs and chickens.

He also noted some success in the organization and structuring of the ministry and its provincial offices. According to the minister, the most noteworthy actions taken in the first months of 1983 were the arrangements for the various rice harvests in Malanje and Uige provinces and the Kuanza-Bengo Agricultural Complex.

He added that, in some cases, the prospects are conditioned by the country's current situation.

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CSO: 3442/272

BRIEFS

PORtUGUESE OFFICIAL VISIT--Lt Col Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, from Portugal, arrived in Luanda Tuesday night from Maputo for meetings with Angolan authorities. One of the brains of the military coup of 25 April 1974, which overthrew fascism in Portugal, Otelo de Carvalho leaves Luanda today heading for Algiers for talks with Algerian party leaders. It should be recalled that in Maputo Otelo was received in audience by President Samora Machel. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 16 Jun 83 p 1] 12,116

COMMERCIALIZATION CAMPAIGN IN CUANZA-SUL--The commercialization campaign in the Province of Cuanza-Sul was started yesterday in 10 municipalities with an overall anticipation of trading 12,284 tons of diverse agricultural products, according to information divulged to ANGOP [Angola Press Agency] by the provincial directorate of ENCPIDA [National Company for Purchase and Distribution of Agricultural Products]. Contrary to the earlier ones, this campaign will include only the essentially agricultural municipalities and will be extended to both isolated and associated peasants, members of cooperatives and medium landholders. Industrial products such as bicycles, radios, motorized vehicles, sewing machines, blankets, footwear and miscellaneous clothing will be offered to the peasants in exchange for beans, potatoes, coffee, corn, etc. With the aim of neutralizing illegal competitors through the authorized marketing organism, a large detachment will be assigned for permanent supervision. The campaign will be aided by two mobile teams, one for cash transactions and the other for transactions in kind. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 24 May 83 p 2] 12,116

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AT BENGUELA--The "Tintas Cin" factory in the Province of Benguela anticipates the production of 1,200 tons of paint this year, surpassing 1982 production by 100 tons, according to what ANGOP [Angola Press Agency] has learned from factory manager Amadeu Ferraz. This encouraging prospect, according to the manager, is due to the timely arrival of the raw material imported from Portugal, the Netherlands and other European countries, to the installation of an electric generator to make up the loss of energy which has been noticed lately in this city and to the excellent state in which the machinery has been kept. The "Tintas Cin" factory, which occupies an area of 4,000 square meters in the Benguela industrial zone, is privately owned and employs 60 workers, who enjoy the best social conditions, principally with regard to food,

for which reason the rate of absenteeism is only 6 percent. Amadeu Ferraz emphasized in closing that the technical training of the workers is carried out in the factory itself with the aid of the most experienced workers. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 24 May 83 p 2] 12,116

**CABINDA-ZAIRE BORDER TO REOPEN**--Cabinda--Armando Dembo, the Provincial commissioner of Cabinda, during a visit to the region of Lower Zaire, Republic of Zaire, announced the forthcoming opening of the border at Yema (a municipality on the border between Cabinda and Lower Zaire) as a result of the contacts maintained with the Zairian authorities in that locality. The decision to open the border at Yema was due to the fact that proper accomodations are now available for customs installations in that border zone, Commissioner Armando Dembo said. He said further that the opening of other border zones is conditional on the creation of adequate lodgings for customs personnel. The commissioner went on to reveal the existence of nearly 150 farms belonging to Zairians on Angolan territory, which shows the spirit of neighborliness prevailing in the People's Republic of Angola, adding that this fact exemplifies the close ties that have always existed between the Zairian and Angolan peoples. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 29 May 83 p 1] 12,116

**RICE PRODUCTION**--Uige--A delegation led by Manuel Quarta (Mpunza), Uige provincial commissioner, recently visited the "Lucelua" rice production unit in order to inform itself about the difficulties the unit is going through. During their visit the commissioner and his group, which included Germano Gomes, national director of community services, heard brief explanations about the rice harvest and the plan for this year. This year the "Lucelua" harvested more than 7,000 sacks of rice in an area of 475 hectares out of 632 hectares of arable land, during the first phase of the harvest. It owns a vast field of 5,000 hectares but needs both human and material resources in order to create a national rice enterprise. The second phase of the harvest is not likely to surpass the earlier quantity due to the drought which does not let the rice sprouts develop, as rice culture is aquatic. [Excerpt] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 15 May 83 p 2] 12,116

**MILITANT TRAINING OPENED**--Domingos Mutaleno, deputy coordinator of the Uige Party Provincial Committee, representing the coordinator of the provincial party committee, recently opened the first special course for training militants. The course, which will last 4 months, is being attended by 61 students including coordinators of base organizations, outstanding workers and members of the party youth. In this first phase the course offers only four subjects. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 15 May 83 p 2] 12,116

**MARITIME CONNECTION WITH MOZAMBIQUE**--Maputo--A regular maritime connection between Angola and Mozambique was inaugurated last Monday in Maputo, the Capital of Mozambique, according to information divulged by AIM [Mozambique Information Agency]. According to the Mozambican

news agency, the symbolic ceremony took place on board the Angolan merchant ship "Frederik Engels," which moored the same day in the Port of Maputo. Those present included Jorge Coelho, Mozambican director of navigation, representing Mozambique and Cristovao Francisco, national director of the merchant marine and ports of Angola. On this occasion the Angolan representative emphasized the importance of the maritime connection for strengthening relations between the two states and also within the field of action of the SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference]. As reported by the AIM, few voyages are anticipated between the ports of Luanda and Maputo, although the number may be increased depending on the amount of cargo to be transported between the two countries. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 11 May 83 p 2] 12,116

WAVE OF ASSAULTS--Malanje--The capital city of this province has for some time been the scene of a wave of assaults committed by unidentified persons. This has been a cause for worry to the provincial authorities. Those assaults have fallen on installations of a political and economic character. According to what ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] has ascertained, in the last 20 days there have been assaults on the Identification Section, Attorneys' Collectives, the Public Registry and on the Public Notary's Office. After blowing open the doors of the building in question, the assailants entered the various offices, where among other things they carried off the blank seal, the rubber stamp bearing the signature of the sector chief. This took place in the Identification Section. As for the Public Notary's Office, the rubber stamps for the authentication of photocopies were stolen. Other material damage was caused as well. The estimated amount of the damage has not been revealed but is said to be large. While this was going on, the Provincial Delegation of Education was assaulted. Typewriters, calculators and rubber stamps were stolen, along with considerable money. In the opinion of Ludi Kissassunda, the provincial commissioner, these operations are connected with the activity of the enemy, for which reason it is urgent to combat them seriously, without wasting time, in order to restore tranquility to the people. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 26 May 83 p 2] 12,116

SOVIET COLD-STORAGE EQUIPMENT--An exposition of Soviet-made cold-storage equipment, held by the "Techomashexport" [as published], was opened this weekend in the main exhibition salon on Avenida Auto, in Luanda. The exposition, which has had the support of enterprises in our country engaged in foreign trade, displays several kinds of cold-storage equipment, such as commercial chests for foodstuffs, chemical products, etc, as well as freezers and refrigerators for domestic use. It must be emphasized that this is the first exhibition of its kind to be held in our country and that the principal pieces of equipment exhibited belong to one of the largest foreign trade organizations in the Soviet Union, founded in 1966. This is the "Techmaselexport," a firm which currently supplies 500 Soviet factories of different kinds as well as enterprises in 80 other countries of the world. The exposition will be open to the public until next 29 May. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 22 May 83 p 2] 12,116

ANGOLA-SA TALKS--Angola--Official circles in the Angolan capital agree unanimously that the upcoming talks with South Africa will only take place if the Angolan Government receives guarantees that the South African minister of foreign affairs will be present. [Text] [Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 2 Jun 83 p 19] 9479

WEST GERMAN CREDIT--Our source said that Mario Pizarro, deputy governor of the National Bank of Angola, will travel to West Germany to negotiate a credit of approximately 350,000 contos in Portuguese money. [Text] [Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 2 Jun 83 p 19] 9479

BREAD INDUSTRY PARALYZED-Kuito (ANGOP)--The irregular supply of flour, resulting from the lack of transportation and aggravated by the political-military situation and the constant shutdowns of the "October Revolution" mill, is causing the bread shortage, according to Luis Cassoma, director of EPAN [State Bakery Enterprise] of Bie. According to the official, the bread shortage worsened following the shutdown of the Leitao Bakery in 1976 because of the breakdown of equipment. Unlike the other bakeries, which use wood for fuel, the Leitao Bakery used naphtha. It has the capacity to produce 150,000 loaves in 8 hours, whereas the other four bakeries attached to EPAN produce a total of 158,000 loaves in the same time. Of the 5,702 tons of bread planned for 1982, only 1,940 tons were produced, or 35 percent of the planned production, Cassoma said, adding that the wood used to fuel the baking ovens is obtained from locations far from the city. He added that the wheat should be shipped by the Benguela railway, which is paralyzed, so the grain remains in Lobito for want of ETP trucks to bring it out. Cassoma explained that the contacts made for the rehabilitation of the Leitao Bakery "fell into oblivion in the files." He said: "The National Directorate for the Food Industry promised that as soon as the technicians finish installing the equipment in the Kaxicane Bakery" in Luanda, they would be sent to Bie to repair the equipment at the Leitao ex-bakery," but nothing has been done to date. However, he continued, "We are not sitting with our hands folded. We have contacted Enfomac in Viana (a firm specializing in the installation and maintenance of ovens), which promised to send technicians who will do the maintenance work at the military bakeries and then study what material is needed for 'ex-Leitao.'" [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 1 Jun 83 p 2] 6362

BENGUELA FISHING INDUSTRY--As part of the General Offensive Against Liberalism and Disorganization, a commission of the Benguela Provincial Party Committee paid a surprise visit on Thursday to ENATIP, the state company for technical and material assistance to the fishing industry. The ENATIP director has been out of the country for about 3 months; there is no control over the workers and no accountability; and the work site is unkempt and unsanitary: these were some of the findings of the commission. The planned fish catch for this year is about 4,099 tons, or about 35 percent of the national plan, according to local sources. The fishing industry, a basic element in the region's economic development, will receive large investments, aimed at recovery of boats that are out of operation so as to increase the sea-fishing capacity. The state fishing sector has a fleet of 36 boats, which suffer frequent breakdowns. Benguela is one of the major fishing centers on the Atlantic coast, and within the internationally established 200-mile coastal waters it is capable of supplying the market in its jurisdiction, that is, Huambo, Bie

and Moxico provinces, without endangering the marine species. [Excerpt] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 22 May 83 p 2] 6362

UNITA, MNR SCORED--Brussels--Paulett Pierson, secretary general of the International Commission for Investigation of Crimes of Apartheid, declared that the puppet groups UNITA and the MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] avoid confrontation with the regular troops of Angola and Mozambique and only attack civilian targets, in order to disorganize and destabilize the social and economic life of these countries. Pierson, who visited the People's Republic of Angola in March and Mozambique in May, accompanied by an international delegation of jurists, stressed in a press conference that members of UNITA captured by the Angolan army have confirmed that the group receives substantial support from the Pretoria authorities. During his stay in Mozambique, Pierson said, his commission was able to verify the significant increase in the attacks which, like those in Angola, are aimed primarily at the civilian population, foreign technicians and economic centers. In Mozambique, he stressed, the puppets have attempted to paralyze transportation and interrupt communications between that country and its neighbors, activities in which South Africa has a major role, since it wants to frustrate the efforts of the Maputo government to rebuild the country. The International Commission for Investigation of Crimes of Apartheid visited Matola, which was recently bombed by South African planes. The jurists confirmed that there is no South African ANC base in the area. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 29 May 83 p 1] 6362

CUBAN PRESENCE--A well-informed Cuban source stated in Luanda that Cuban troops will never withdraw north of a Namibe-Lubango-Matala line (300 kilometers north of the Angola-Namibian frontier). "We would lose all defensive capability and our soldiers would be too exposed to a South African surprise attack", added this same source, who requested anonymity. Questioned on the kidnapping last 12 March at Alto Catumbela of 64 Czechoslovak technicians, this source revealed that 10 Cuban technical assistance workers were at Alto Catumbela at the end of February, but that in the face of Angolan refusal to guarantee better military protection, their embassy had decided to repatriate them early in March. Consequently the source denied that a Cuban national had been kidnapped by UNITA at the same time as the Czechoslovaks. "If a single Cuban had been among the 64 Czechoslovaks, we would have intervened militarily immediately to free him," said the source. On the ground, the Angolan and Cuban armies, although wearing the same uniform, henceforth operate separately, an AFP [Agence France Press] correspondent confirmed. "Our soldiers", confirmed this same Cuban source, "are no longer ready, as in the past, to die on the front line, and today it is the government armed forces of the FA-PLA [expansion unknown] which are fighting against the South Africans, while we are defending certain vital strategic axes." [Text] [Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French No 63, Jun 83 p 28] 6108

JAPANESE TECHNICIANS--Our reliable source said that a team of Japanese technicians who tried to visit the Cassinga iron mines were not able to go there even with an escort by government soldiers because of attacks by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] guerrillas, currently the predominant force in the Jamba area. The Japanese could, however, observe that Jonas Savimbi's forces had completely destroyed several km sections of the railroad which was supposed to carry the ore to Mocamedes. [Text] [Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 2 Jun 83 p 19] 9479

OIL PRODUCTION--Last year, total production of crude petroleum amounted to 1,851,066 metric tons or 13,569,974 barrels which is 4.5 percent less than the previous year's production. From this total, 151,431 tons were exported and the remainder sold to the Luanda refinery which in November 1981 was severely damaged by sabotage by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] commandos. The refinery processed 1,009,477 tons of crude petroleum. Some 12,983 tons of butane gas, 84,434 tons of gasoline and smaller quantities of jet fuel, petroleum for lighting purposes, gas-oil, fuel for export, bunker and asphalt were produced. Last year, FINA-Petroleum of Angola employed 1,671 workers--1,361 Angolans and 310 foreigners. Of the former, 200 are taking intensive training courses in West Germany, Canada, Scotland, Belgium, the United States and Portugal. [Text] [Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 2 Jun 83 p 19] 9479

FOOD DONATION--The Italian Government has given Angola 10,000 tons of rice to alleviate the food shortage affecting the entire country. The donation, which was intended to be given without cost to the people, primarily the children, was sold without the knowledge of government authorities. The rice was sold to "groups of friends" and subsequently resold on the black market for exceedingly high prices. The donation of the West German Red Cross (25,000 tons of corn and dried fish) met a different fate: it remained in Benguela because there were no trucks to transport to its destination. The authorities, unable to use the railroad which is not safe, are considering transporting food by air to the places for which it is destined. [Text] [Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 2 Jun 83 p 19] 9479

CSO: 3442/268

BENIN

BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH BULGARIA-- The People's Republic of Bulgaria and our country, the People's Republic of Benin, on Saturday in Cotonou signed the draft agreement on the cultural and scientific cooperation program for 1983-1985. Comrade Ahoyo, director general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, representing the Beninese side, said that the agreement concerns a number of fields: science, education, the arts, public health, and information. He added: This rich program is evidence of the genius of our two peoples. The two sides will meet again in 2 years to review what has been accomplished. For the Belgian side, His Excellency Alexander Atanasov, the Bulgarian ambassador, expressed his satisfaction at signing the draft agreement aimed at promoting the welfare of the Beninese and Bulgarian peoples. /Text/ /Cotonou EHUZU in French 30 May 83 p 6/ 9920

CSO: 3419/1028

NORWAY PROVIDING AID FOR MARITIME PROJECTS

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 31 May 83 p 46

[Article by Rolf L. Larsen: "Norwegian Aid to Cape Verde: Maritime Aid of 35 Million Kroner"]

[Text] Norway will participate in a large UN program to build up navigational aid facilities, harbors and a school center for seamen on the Cape Verde Islands in the South Atlantic. The ocean and the sea are the lifeline for the island society off the coast of West Africa and through the UN Navigation Organization--IMO--Norway will contribute aid and equipment to the Cape Verde Islands for approximately 35 million kroner. "We are extremely grateful for this help," says Director of Shipping Homberto Moreis of the Cape Islands to AFTENPOSTEN.

Moreis, along with two other maritime representatives from Cape Verde, is now on a week-long visit with Norwegian maritime authorities, school centers and the Norwegian Veritas and shipping companies. This is the first time the delegation has been in Norway. The invitation was extended by the Ministry of Commerce and IMO.

UN Program

"The UN program that Norway has a part in organizing will offer better and more secure living conditions for our approximately 300,000 inhabitants. We have received a very good impression of the expertise and aid which you as a maritime nation will give us," says Moreis.

It was after a visit by Maritime Director Ivar Sandvik to the islands this winter that the maritime cooperation started in earnest. And Kare Norwald-Eikeland, chief engineer with the Norwegian aid for Cape Verde. He recently visited the islands and had earlier managed a series of special UN maritime construction projects in other countries.

"Primarily we will participate in building a school center which will train seamen and navigators. In addition to that, we will also be part of organizing better navigational aid facilities on the islands. Both are badly needed. The school center will train engineers, navigators and people in the electronics field," says Norwald-Eikeland.

## Old Lighthouses

Today the majority of the navigational aid facilities on Cape Verde are lighthouses from the last century. "Among other things, we will build a number of modern radio lighthouses operated by solar energy," he said.

Provisions are for the development program to last until 1986.

Cape Verde became an independent republic in 1975 after almost 500 years of Portuguese colonial rule. But 25 years ago, the islands lay as a green and fertile idyl and hardly a drop of rain has fallen on the islands since 1958. The fertile fields and steep pastures have been transformed into deserts and barren, rocky mountain slopes without any vegetation. The situation has caused the UN to grant Cape Verde the same status as the countries in the Sahel belt on the African continent, and this has resulted in international aid being increased in recent years.

"We are a poor country. The main industry previously was agriculture but now more and more make their livelihood from the sea and fishing. Therefore we need help in building up expertise on all levels in this area. I am pleased that Norway is included in this work. We are two seafaring nations. When we talk to people in the trade, we speak the same language," says Maritime Director Moreis.

## Interest in Norwegian Ships and Expertise

"We are impressed with the maritime training you have in this country. There is a great interest in maritime training in Cape Verde. The sea is the main communication route between the islands and I expect that the school that will be built will be able to accommodate about 150 students," says Moreis.

"Earlier the officers who manned the largest ships in the Cape Verde fleet were trained in Portugal. Now we can train them ourselves," he said.

"This will mainly take place in the school center, which now is under construction. But we will also be sending teachers and students to Norway and Sweden for training."

He said that Cape Verde had bought many Norwegian ships. In the fleet of 12 there are three 600-ton ships. The largest ship in the islands' merchant fleet is 5,000 tons.

"We are also interested in expanding our fleet after we have trained new officers and crews and therefore we are also talking to Norwegian shipping companies about tonnage," says Moreis.

"Today we have a merchant marine fleet of approximately 20,000 deadweight tons, a total of 12 ships. These ships sail between the islands of the countryland to Africa and Europe. In addition we have our own fishing fleet, which mainly fishes for tuna and lobster in the waters off the islands. We have just built our own dry dock and are about to prepare the harbor facilities," says Moreis.

9583

CSO: 3639/123

RESULTS OF CABINET MEETING NOTED

Libreville L'UNION in French 22 Jun 83 p 1

[Article: "Cabinet Meeting at Palace: Preserving National Unity and Cohesion"]

[Text] The president yesterday [21 June] presided over a cabinet meeting which was attended by his principal colleagues. In the course of this meeting several questions were considered.

In the foreign policy area the cabinet meeting reviewed the work of the 19th summit meeting of the OAU, which took place in Addis Ababa from 6-11 June 1983. The cabinet particularly congratulated the chief of state for the effective action he had taken, on the one hand for saving the Organization of African Unity, whose prospects for survival had been seriously compromised by the problems of the Western Sahara and Chad; on the other hand for bringing together a relative majority of votes for the Gabonese candidate for the post of administrative secretary general. The cabinet also congratulated the chief of state for having ensured the triumph of Gabonese diplomacy, despite the activities of our detractors.

Passing on to other items on the agenda, the cabinet meeting studied the composition of the ministerial staffs, of the central administrative services, and of the partly state-owned companies. It was noted that the recruitment of senior officials who work directly with cabinet ministers and directors general of the various government services was accomplished much more commonly on a tribal basis than on criteria of competence, efficiency, and merit, as stated in the laws in effect. The chief of state gave firm instructions that this practice, which has become a common one, must be ended, in order to preserve national unity and cohesion.

In the same context the president criticized the tendency of certain officials who systematically refuse assignments in provinces other than those in which they were born. Noting that this attitude led to inadequate administration of the interior part of the country, the chief of state recalled that decentralization of the government services will only be effective to the extent that there is a just and equitable distribution of government employees in the different geographic areas of the country, providing additional strength to the powers of the provincial authorities.

The cabinet extended well-deserved congratulations to the honorary president of the UFPDG [Women's Union of the Gabonese Democratic Party] for the work she continues to perform within the party to mobilize and bring together Gabonese women, whose militancy is recognized by all concerned. On the other hand, it was with regret that the secretary general and founder of the party reported that the mobilization of men, which should have taken place at party meetings with the help of the political commissars and responsible basic cell leaders, was still inadequate.

Before concluding its work the cabinet studied the restructuring of the National Committee for Fairs and Conferences (COMINAF).

5170  
CSO: 3419/1045

GABON

BRIEFS

PROVINCIAL OFFICIAL CRITICIZED--I know an administrative leader in Estuary Province who doesn't like to stay at his post, however prestigious it might be. Assigned a long time ago to be the chief of an administrative subdivision, he spends most of his time in Libreville, taking care of his personal business. Using a thousand and one excuses to justify what amounts to abandonment of his post, he struts calmly about the streets of the capital leaving the people for whom he is administratively responsible to get along as best they can. From time to time he makes brief visits to his post in order, he says, to take the temperature of the local people and assure himself that everything is going along well. He takes a quick look at the questions that have come up, gives instructions quickly, and then leaves just as quickly for the capital to attend to his business there. There are many people who engage in this kind of acrobatics. For they think that leaving the capital means dying a little. They do everything to be in Libreville, where they can be seen, so that they are not forgotten. It will really take a long time to change this attitude! Among them, at least! [Comment by writer with pen name "Makaya"] [Text] [Libreville L'UNION in French 24 Jun 83 p 1] 5170

CSO: 3419/1045

GAMBIA

FINANCE MINISTER PRESENTS BUDGET

AB191502 Dakar PANA in English 1400 GMT 19 Jul 83

[Text] Banjul, 19 Jul (GINS/PANA)--The Gambia's Minister of Finance Sherif Ceesay has spoken of plans by the government to boost exports by tapping the potential of small-scale industries in the Gambia, when he delivered his budget to Parliament.

The finance minister said the provision of proper incentives will stimulate the output of such industries. The government, he said, is to consider setting up an export development plan, with Europe and ECOWAS as target markets.

Despite an overall rise in trade figures in March 1983 the Gambia registered a trade deficit of 19.40 million dalasis (approximately 9.70 million U.S. dollars). The import figures for March this year were 1.77 [figure as received] million dalasis (approximately 15.88 million U.S. dollars) and exports 12.47 million dalasis (approximately 6.18 million U.S. dollars).

The finance minister said the Gambia's inflation rate increased by 2 percent in the 1982-83 financial year. The consumer price index during 1982-83 fiscal year rose from 228.8 to 252.2 representing an inflation rate of 10.2 percent, compared to 8.2 percent for 1981-82.

"Food and drinks," meat, poultry, eggs and fish accounted for 41.3 percent of the overall rise. Cereals and cereal products for 24.2 percent, milk, dairy products, oils and fats for 23.6 percent.

Commodities grouped under "clothing, textiles and footwear, fuel and light" and "miscellaneous," accounted for 12.7, 9.0 and 16.3 percent respectively, of the overall rise.

The finance minister revealed that the Gambia had a balance of trade deficit of 132.7 million dalasis (approximately 66.3 million U.S. dollars) in 1982-83 financial year. He said this indicated an improvement in the country's balance of payments of 14.1 million dalasis (approximately 7.05 million U.S. dollars) compared to 146.8 million dalasis (approximately 73.4 million U.S. dollars) in 1981-82. [words indistinct] the value of external trade estimated at 305 million dalasis compared to 312.5 million dalasis in 1981-82 and 333.2 million dalasis in 1980-81.

The minister said the decline in the country's external trade was due to decrease in imports. In 1982-83 imports dropped to 218.8 million dalasis, 2.7 million dalasis less than in 1981-82 and 56.9 million less than in 1980-81.

Exports showed an increase of 3.1 million dalasis for 1982-83 over the 1981-82 figure of 82.9 million dalasis.

Food and live animals took one-third of imports during 1982-83 and 32.5 percent in 1981-82.

The figures, the minister said, "show that apart from being importers of manufactured goods, we are gradually becoming more dependent on the outside world for our food requirements." "This structural dependence is recognized by government and corrective measures are being taken to increase industrialisation especially on agro-based industries, as well as increase food production so as to progressively reduce the importation of food," the minister added.

Exports increased by 3.1 million dalasis in 1982-83 over the 1981-82 figure of 82.9 million dalasis.

The finance minister attributed the increase to more exports of groundnuts and its derivatives.

"Our export earnings would have been much higher, but for the low groundnut prices obtained in the international markets, the minister said.

An annual tax on all professionals in private practice, was among measure's Minister Ceesay announced in presenting the budget. The minister said in addition to income tax, a professional tax of one thousand dalasis (equivalent to five hundred U.S. dollars) will be paid by private doctors, lawyers, accountants and surveyors.

Finance Minister Ceesay also announced an increase in the duty on sugar from 5.80 dalasis to 7.50 dalasis for a 50 kilogram bag and a flat 10 per cent increase on refrigerators, radios, air-conditioners, music and TV sets.

The duty on cigarettes and manufactured tobacco will go up from two dalasis for every 100 sticks to three dalasis and the duty on all passenger vehicles and dual purpose motor vehicles will be increased by 5 percent.

While entertainment tax has been increased from 10 to 15 percent, the duty on automobile batteries and manufactured garments, excluding under-garments, will rise by 10 percent.

Land rent and survey fees have also been increased and new charges on telecommunications services introduced. Minister Ceesay also announced the introduction of new [words indistinct] the tourism sector, the revision of duties on alcoholic beverages, and an increment of 1 per cent on import tax. He said an excise duty of 10 percent will be introduced for the first time on soft drinks, and for locally manufactured soap at 5 bututs per kilo.

Excise duty will also be levied on confectionery at 30 bututs per kilo and that of beer, stout and ale will be increased from (787) dalasis to 100 dalasis per hectolitre.

The granting of customs duty concessions to diplomatic missions, international organisations, charitable and voluntary organisations, will be rationalised and streamlined, and the end uses of duty free items closely monitored, the minister said.

There was a rise in the Gambia's gross domestic product (GDP) during the 1982-83 financial year, according to the minister.

During the said period the Gambia's GDP was estimated at 594 point 4 [as received] million dalasis (approximately 297.2 million U.S. dollars) representing a rise of 103 million dalasis (approximately 51 million U.S. dollars) over the revised estimate of 491 point 4 million dalasis (approximately 245 point 7 million U.S. dollars) in 1981-82.

The minister said total productions per person in the Gambia at current market prices increased by 18 percent over the figure for 1981-82 to 922 point 50 dalasis (approximately 461 point 25 U.S. dollars) in 1982-83.

Agriculture and livestock contributed 93 point 2 million dalasis (approximately 46 point 6 million U.S. dollars) to the GDP for 1982-83. Groundnut production marketing contributed fifty five percent of this amount compared to its contribution of sixty one percent in 1981-82.

The fishing and hotels and restaurants sectors increased their contributions to the GDP 4 point nine and 57 point 7 percent respectively in 1982-83.

The finance minister attributed the increase in the value added in the fishing sector to greater investment and participation by Gambian and foreign entrepreneurs, and that of the hotels and restaurants sectors to an increase in the number of tourists that visited the country in 1982-83.

CSO: 3400/1656

GHANA

BRIEFS

RETURNEES BEFORE TRIBUNAL--The chairman of the Ashanti regional tribunal, Mr Kwame Ahin, has expressed great concern at what he described as the alarming rate at which returnees from Nigeria are appearing at the tribunal on stealing charges. He said if there should be any group of persons which should wholeheartedly embrace and assist the ongoing revolution, it should be the returnees. He noted that the government spent millions of cedis to evacuate them and more money is being spent to resettle them. Mr Ahin regretted that instead of taking advantage of the government's kind gesture, many of them are making life unpleasant for hardworking citizens. He made these remarks when he sentenced two returnees, Kwesi Ejakun and Yao Amoa, to a total of 16 years imprisonment for stealing. They stole personal belongings and cash totalling 67,000 cedis. Yao Amoa was given 9 years and Kwesi Ejakun 7 years. [Text] [AB061950 Accra Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 6 Jul 83]

CSO: 3400/1664

GUINEA

BRIEFS

DEFENSE MINISTER VISITS YUGOSLAVIA--General Lansana Diana, minister of defence, has come on an official visit to Yugoslavia. During his stay the general had a talk with his Yugoslav counterpart, Admiral Branko Mamula, and visited units and installations of the Yugoslav Army. [Text] [Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French No 63, Jun 83 p 16] 6108

EGYPT MILITARY COOPERATION--The Egyptian military industry recently signed with the Ministry of Defense an arms contract evaluated at \$40 million. Egypt will supply various materiel to Guinea, including ammunition of various calibers, mortars, Waleed armored vehicles, Suez automatic rifles, Aswan machine guns, and Misr assault rifles (the Egyptian version of the AK-47). [Text] [Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French No 63, Jun 83 p 16] 6108

CSO: 3419/1039

JOINT NATIONAL-USSR FIRM SEEKS HIGHER PRODUCTION

Bissau NO PINTCHA in Portuguese 7 May 83 pp 4, 5

[Text] Estrela-do-Mar, a joint Soviet-Guinean fishing company, is going to increase the quantity and quality of fish on the domestic market this year, according to the report given by Comrade Abubacar Balde, director-general of the firm, to our newspaper.

This fishing company was established in 1975 by the governments of Guinea-Bissau and the Soviet Union, on the basis of cooperative arrangements between the two countries. Our government holds 51 percent of the equity capital and the USSR has 49 percent. The business of the company is shrimp fishing, but since it was the first company of the kind to be set up by the Guinean government and it is still the only one that operates regularly, it is also involved in other types of fishing, either to supply the domestic market or for export.

The firm's director-general told us that Estrela-do-Mar has been gradually improving the quality of its operations since it was first started. Now, with new management, it is planning another qualitative leap forward, since the management is determined for the firm to progress in all areas. As Comrade Balde said, "our main concern is to supply our people with fish." The market has already been extended to include some fish markets in the outskirts of the capital, especially to avoid crowds and interminable lines. "We want to do whatever we can to avoid the long lines that are found at the major markets in the capital," Estrela-do-Mar's director-general stated.

Another of the company's concerns is to get the fish to the markets as fast as possible, Balde stressed. And, he added: "The management of the company has assumed direct control over the arrival and shipment of fish, so as to put an end to a certain illegal network existing in the firm that needed to be stopped." Stocks in the tanks and sales plans are checked daily, as are orders, so that when people go to take the fish out of the tanks, they do not find them empty.

"This checking of the tanks and sales plans is also designed to put an end to a certain illegal practice observed in shipping fish out of the company," Comrade Balde said. According to him, there were some sellers who were entitled to take as much fish as they wanted on the orders and others who

could not. This led to a situation of favoritism. "We decided to vigorously combat this practice. So if one person is entitled to 10 kilos, the others are too. "We do not want to play favorites, as it is not fair," the head of Estrela-do-Mar stressed.

Comrade Abubacar Balde added with regard to illegal practices that "the network was so firmly established that it was very difficult to dismantle it." "We were forced to institute direct control over much of the company's business, to stop these nefarious activities that greatly harmed our people."

As regards speculative business practices in selling fish in the markets in the capital, the director general said that it is the responsibility of the State Committee of the City of Bissau to combat this irregular activity, through its inspectors. "All the same, we condemn this practice."

#### Fish for the Interior

At the present time Estrela-do-Mar is getting ready to market fish in some regions of the country. It has already developed test markets in Canchungo, Farim, Bafata and Gabu, using refrigerated trucks. The fish in those areas is sold at the local prices. Moreover, Estrela-do-Mar is making every effort to preserve the fish in the interior of the country.

The joint company of Estrela-do-Mar is involved in exporting fish to meet its foreign expenditures. The director general recently travelled to Dakar and Europe. In this connection, Comrade Abubacar Balde assured us that the purpose of his trip was to contact the firm's customers and explain to them the new set of guidelines for exports that the company adopted. The company needs to be strict in its export policy, Comrade Abubacar Balde said, and he added: "Rather unfortunate situations have occurred, such as the case of Julio Soares, who paid with bad checks, and others who bought fish and alleged that it is a state enterprise that owes the money. To prevent situations of this sort from being repeated, we have decided that from now on when our products are sold, payment will be immediate, and not on credit as it has up to now."

According to the director general, this trip also enabled him to study the international fish market and to learn of the needs of foreign fishing companies.

Coming back to the internal situation of the company, Comrade Abubacar Balde stressed that he intended to keep informed of all the operations at Estrela-do-Mar. "I do not want to be just an office manager," he said.

As regards the dispute with the customer Julio Soares, the case is virtually lost for our side, since he declared bankruptcy.

#### Increase in Production

Estrela-do-Mar's director told us that the company's goal this year is to increase production. To do this, it will be necessary to create conditions on the high seas to raise production.

The firm has 12 boats: four for Guinea-Bissau and four for the USSR, and an additional four used for fishing to pay off the firm's debt to Sovriflot, the Soviet enterprise that provides technical assistance to Estrela-do-Mar.

#### Quality of the Fish

Guinea-Bissau has some of the richest coastal waters in fauna, but it is rare to find top quality fish in our markets. When the company began operations, sardines frequently appeared on the markets for long months, followed by grunts and catfish. In short, neither "bica," swordfish or "senapa" appeared on the domestic market.

We asked Comrade Abubacar Balde why quality fish had disappeared from the market. He gave the following reply: "Our company is engaged in shrimp fishing, this is what we are outfitted for and shrimp are fished at a certain depth, where top quality fish are not found. We specialize in shrimp fishing because it receives higher prices on the international market. To do what we have set out to do, we have to find the shrimp and shrimp are fished at great depths. Our boats go far to find shrimp and there we cannot fish for quality fish. The French boat which was captured for a time by our Navy was fishing for better quality fish, as it was within our territorial waters, where there is a large quantity of top quality fish."

#### Training Staff

The charter establishing the joint company, Estrela-do-Mar, contains a clause stipulating that the USSR will grant scholarships to train staff in fisheries. Under this program, students have gone to the USSR every year on scholarships. This year 10 specialists will return from the Soviet Union, but most of them are not going out to sea. "The reason they give me is that there is no place for them on the boats," the director general of Estrela-do-Mar explained, and went on to say: "We intend to resolve this situation, as this is a joint company, and we also have to have our specialized personnel on the boats."

#### Social Situation in the Company

There are a Party Committee and a Labor Committee at the company. Both operate regularly and have received full support from the current management in all their activities. There is also a workers' social fund in the company. "When we took office," the director general recounted, "we asked to see the accounts and we, along with some associates, were astonished to learn that the fund did not have any money or any papers verifying its use. There were vouchers of people outside the firm. The Party Committee was not operating, but a decision was made to set up a new one, and a new labor committee, as it "was not defending the workers' interests."

In concluding his interview, Comrade Abubacar Balde told us that this year is a year for action and not words, and he warned: "Anyone at the company who does not want to work should go home, since the management requires punctuality, work and discipline, and this will be enforced at the company."

9805

CSO: 3442/262

INDIA, PAKISTAN TO SEND RICE, MEDICAL SUPPLIES

Bissau NO PINTCHA in Portuguese 7 May 83 p 5

[Text] Our country is going to receive a donation of rice from the Pakistan government and medical supplies from India, according to what Comrade Samba Lamine Mane, minister of foreign affairs, told representatives of the national information agency last Monday afternoon in his office.

Comrade Samba Lamine spoke to reporters about his trip to Pakistan and India, at the head of a government delegation. The minister also carried messages from the president of the Revolutionary Council to his counterparts in the two countries.

In Pakistan, the delegation was received by President Zia Ul Hak and had talks with its counterparts there, and particularly with the ministers of commerce, finance and industry. It discussed with them ways to strengthen the cooperative arrangements that were instituted 2 years ago, when a delegation from our country went to Pakistan, and then later furthered in February of 1982, when a Pakistani delegation came to our country.

They also discussed shipments of rice to our country this year, and an agreement was signed to supply 10,000 tons, payable on favorable terms. Despite the immense difficulties facing that country because of the large number of refugees in a certain region, the Pakistani government offered to donate 500 tons of rice to our country.

In India, the delegation was received by Prime Minister Indira Ghandi, and it met with ministers from various sectors, including health, education and commerce. A delegation should be arriving in our country shortly to assess our needs.

In regard to the donation of medical supplies to our country, Comrade Samba Lamine told us that a list of the medical supplies our country needs would be sent very soon.

On discussing the textile industry in India, the minister of foreign affairs said that India has a highly developed textile industry and that its products are sold at quite competitive prices on the international market. This has raised our country's interest in these products. It was therefore decided

to follow through on this, through the ambassadors from the two countries, who will be presenting their credentials to the government shortly.

However, when reporters asked about appointing an ambassador from our country to reside in one of those countries, Comrade Samba Lamine said that because of our country's financial and economic problems, it would not be possible to appoint anyone at the present time, but probably in the near future.

9805

CSO: 3442/262

GUINEA-BISSAU

PORUGAL TO PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Aid to Shipyards

Lisbon 0 DIA in Portuguese 15 Jun 83 p 24

[Text] A Bissau official source announced that Estaleiros Navais de Lisboa [Lisbon Navy Yards] (Lisnave) will sign a contract with Estaleiros Navais da Guine-Bissau [Guinea-Bissau Navy Yards] (Guinave) to aid in the operation of the yards, give technical assistance and provide education and training to personnel.

Cooperation between the two shipyards began last January when Lisnave signed a contract to supply materials and perform services for a sum of 370,000 dollars (37,000 contos).

Financing for the supply of materials, which will assure work at Guinave for a period of 2 years, was secured from the European Investment Bank.

The purpose of the agreement with Lisnave as a whole is to "rehabilitate, reorganize and turn into a variable enterprise" the old shipyards of the Portuguese Navy, which have now been turned into a state-owned concern with 354 employees.

A similar agreement for aid to operation, technical assistance and education and training of personnel had been drawn up in 1981 between Guinave and Setenave was "blocked" in December 1982 by the Portuguese Minister of Industry Baiao Horta and then replaced by the current contract with Lisnave.

Education

In the meantime, Portuguese technicians of the Ministry of Education completed the first mission of a program of assistance, in Bissau, to restructure services of the Guinea-Bissau Ministry of Public Education.

The major areas of priority of this intergovernmental cooperation program between Portugal and Guinea-Bissau are to redraw basic elementary education throughout the country, create a polytechnic institute on the intermediate level in Bissau, some of the departments of the Ministry and train teachers.

The Portuguese technicians who have now completed the "first prospecting mission" in Bissau are Pedro Lourtie and Antonio Refega, professors at the Instituto Superior Tecnico and the Instituto Superior de Agronomia, respectively, and Maria Eduarda Boal and Ricardo Charters de Azevedo, of the Ministry of Education.

Portuguese government technicians are currently in Bissau on missions of assistance in the restructuring of the Ministry of Natural Resources and the Office of the Secretary of State for Fishing.

#### Cambambe

According to information received yesterday from government sources, a Portuguese mission will leave shortly for Angola in order to discuss the problem of financing the raising of the Cambambe Dam.

The mission will include representatives of the Ministry of Industry, the Secretary of State for Cooperation, and Banco de Fomento Nacional, which is the leading bank of the consortium through which the project will be financed.

Raising the Cambambe Dam calls for a contract for a sum of 150 million dollars, and the competitive bids were awarded to a consortium of Portuguese companies.

Signing of the contract is behind the proposed date (April 1983) due to difficulties arising in scheduling the financing of the project.

Banco de Fomento Nacional drew up a schedule providing for payment of work in cash and oil over a period of two years, which is not acceptable to the Angolan government.

Angola has already accepted the conditions that close to half of the contract amount be paid in oil, thus providing a real guarantee.

#### Study of Energy Ministry

Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 17 Jun 83 p 4

[Text] Portuguese Government technicians have launched a new cooperative operation in Bissau to draw up an organic and restructuring study of the Guinean Ministry of Energy and Industry.

This is the Guinea-Bissau Government agency that will be restructured with the assistance of Portuguese Government experts and technicians of other Portuguese state agencies.

The others are the Presidencies of the Republic and of the Council of Ministers, the Ministries of Natural Resources, Education, Rural Development, Public Service & Labor and Economy & Finance, and the Office of the Secretary of State for Fishing.

In the specific area cooperation program just beginning at the Ministry of Industry and Energy, the first step shall be a survey of the situation and

existing problems to enable the Portuguese government to submit a proposal aimed, above all, at the training of staff and organization, according to Guinean experts.

The Portuguese mission includes two high-level experts of the Ministry of Industry and a representative of the Office of the Secretary of State for Planning and Internal Cooperation.

#### Oil Prospecting

In the meantime, representatives of four oil companies from the U.S.A., West Germany, France and the United Kingdom arrived day before yesterday in Bissau to study a draft agreement for off-shore oil prospecting with the Guinea-Bissau government.

An official Guinea-Bissau source disclosed that the foreign delegates will prepare reports on the proposed agreement and try to set dates for future oil prospecting drilling.

The same source proceeded to add that these negotiations are, however, subject to the results of seismic surveys of the Guinean ocean shelf which are still underway by a specialized company through financing granted by the World Bank to the Government of Guinea-Bissau.

The first seismic survey off the Guinean shore was completed along a 5,000 kilometer stretch, through World Bank financing amounting to 7 million dollars.

The second WB loan amounted to 13 million dollars and is now defraying the cost of this second phase of the seismic data survey which is essential to the determination of the content and extension of oil deposits in Guinea-Bissau territorial waters.

CSO: 3442/264

## PRIME MINISTER JUSTIFIES POLITICAL ALLIANCE

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 21 Jun 83 pp 1, 5

[Text] During a press conference yesterday at which he announced the date of the general elections (21 August) and Nomination Day (11 July), Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth formally confirmed that an electoral agreement has been reached with the Labor Party (PT) and an "arrangement" has been concluded with the Mauritian Social Democratic Party (PMSD) to "block the path of the common adversary, the MMM." During the question period, he confirmed that he will head the MSM [Mauritius Socialist Movement]-PT alliance, as the prime minister designate of any future MSM-PT-PMSD government. He justified the alliance with the laborites by saying that, despite certain errors, which moreover the workers recognize, the PT has in the past been "the true socialist party of the island of Mauritius." As to the arrangement reached with the PMSD, Mr Jugnauth justified it with the statement that Sir Gaetan Duval has changed and is no longer the man against whom he, Jugnauth, "waged a relentless battle in the years between 1963 and 1967." Mr Jugnauth believes that the PMSD can help in reestablishing confidence in Mauritius in order to encourage investments, but for the time being he was unwilling to say whether the PMSD leader would be entrusted with the post of minister of external affairs in a future MSM-PT-PMSD government. He would only say that "this will be discussed during a second stage."

Mr Jugnauth, who held a joint press conference with Labor Party leader Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, confirmed that the common enemy of all three parties is the MMM, in particular, Mr Paul Berenger, who he says has become like "the Duval of the years between 1963 and 1967." He stressed that he will fight Mr Berenger "as relentlessly as I fought Duval in the 1960s." Where Sir Gaetan Duval is concerned, Mr Jugnauth said that "he has now understood the reality of the island of Mauritius. He respects that reality, and this is why we can reach an agreement with him."

Mr Jugnauth said that the government resulting from the 11 June 1982 elections was elected on the basis of a specific program and with a mandate of 5 years, but, the victim of a split, it was unable to function. The second government he formed, he said, did not have the necessary majority, nor could the parliamentary opposition have achieved a majority either. Thus general elections became inevitable. "The public must thus understand what happened," Mr Jugnauth said. "All of this is the result of the betrayal by the MMM immediately after the formation of the new government, and of the personal ambition of certain individuals within the MMM."

The prime minister spoke of an "about-face" on the part of the MMM once it was in power. Mr Jugnauth expressed the view that after having promised much to the "ti-dimoune," this party let itself be "taken over again" by the private sector once installed in office. He accused the members of the MMM of associating with individuals in the private sector to the point of allowing themselves to be influenced by them. He again denounced the tax allowance of 57 million rupees granted to the sugar industry, as well as the price policy pertaining to rice and flour pursued by his former minister of finance when that official was in his cabinet. "The austerity measures should have been distributed more equitably," he said, "rather than imposing them on everyone without distinction."

The result of this was the "conflicts" and "intrigues" within the government, and, Mr Jugnauth said, there are in addition to all this certain individuals who thought that this provided an opportunity to win power. Mr Jugnauth reiterated his charge to the effect that the MMM wanted to have its constitution prevail over that of the country, which he said was "a direct threat" to democracy and freedom in the country. "There was a coup d'etat within the government. The desire was first of all to get rid of me in order to put Mr Ramduth Jaddoo in my place as prime minister."

#### 'Duval and Berenger Have Changed'

The prime minister accused the MMM of using a tactic designed to divide the population, in particular where certain communities are concerned. He said that the MMM "wants to make the Tamil people believe that they are not Hindus." And so Mr Jugnauth referred back to the 1960s. "History is repeating itself," he said. "But the people of Mauritius will not let this happen, and once again, as in the 1960s, they will avoid the danger this division represents."

Mr Jugnauth then set forth the reasons for the MSM-PT-PMSD agreement. "Bizin comprend: PMSD fine evolve," he said. "The Gaetan Duval of 1983 is no longer the 1967 Duval. And the truth is that Paul Berenger in 1983 is no longer what he was in 1969. Today he is the reverse of what he was. Today Berenger is the Duval of the years between 1963 and 1967. This is why I fought Duval in the past, and it is necessary for me to fight Berenger today as relentlessly as I fought Duval in the past. Duval has finally understood the reality of the island of Mauritius. He respects that reality, and this is why we can reach an agreement with him."

Mr Jugnauth went on to justify the alliance with the Labor Party as well. "The true socialist party in Mauritius has in the past been the Labor Party. If Mauritius is what it is today, the role of the PT cannot be ignored. The merit of the PT must be recognized. It made certain errors. The laborites recognize this. And they have taken another path. They are showing good will."

Mr Jugnauth believes that there has been a campaign to hinder the MSM-PT alliance. He charges that "certain press sectors" have encouraged this campaign. He recalled that when he was still a member of the MMM, as president

of that party, he prevented Mr Berenger from concluding an alliance with the Labor Party. "C'est moi qui fine barre. The alliance was not necessary." Mr Jugnauth expressed belief that "no one can come to me today to say that it is a crime to establish an alliance with the PT. And even where the PMSD is concerned, everyone knows the story of the "tiptoe front." This was an alliance between the MMM and the PMSD. And after the 1976 elections, Duval came to see us to propose that we participate in a coalition government with him. Paul Berenger negotiated and for my part, I said no."

Thus Mr Jugnauth thinks that an arrangement between the MSM and the PMSD is not as "unthinkable" as might be believed. "Thus we say that we must ally ourselves within the framework of an arrangement with the PMSD."

Mr Jugnauth then officially announced that an MSM-PT alliance is already a fact, and a list of candidates has already been drafted. It may be subject to some slight corrections. "But we have already concluded an alliance, our government program is already drafted and we have perfected a priority program for 5 years. We have lost a year, because there were those who wanted to experiment with ideological theories. After a 1-year experiment, we reached the conclusion that it is necessary to be more practical, more specific, in order to launch the economy again and create jobs, to open our doors to the Arab countries."

#### 'Investments To Be Encouraged'

It is there that the PMSD will have a role to play, Mr Jugnauth believes. He feels that "the PMSD can help to reestablish the confidence necessary for foreign investments."

The prime minister concluded with an announcement of the date of the elections and Nomination Day, and he then yielded the floor to Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, who spoke rather briefly.

Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam announced that "everyone is agreed on the subject of the MSM-PT alliance and the arrangement with Duval and the PMSD." He said that this is a group of people "of good will" who want to work "for the economic, political and social stability of the country." He believes that the agreement among the three parties is "a great step forward." Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam also stated that Mr Jugnauth could not carry his goals through to the end within his own party.

#### 'Unanimous Labor Acceptance'

Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam then stated that "in the Labor Party, the alliance was unanimously accepted. It is possible that there were some adjustments here and there, but these are details which can be resolved." Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam went on to say that "the PT has always respected parliamentary democracy, freedom of the press and of speech, as well as the liberal institutions, and has always made promises it could keep."

Continuing, he said "the PT is not a communal party, but represents all sectors of the population without any distinction as to class, color or community. Our contribution to the country has been rather favorable, and we want to continue the work with the MSM." He recalled that Mr Jugnauth had already served in his government.

Mr Jugnauth then took the floor again to state that with the agreement among the three parties, there could be "no doubt," according to him, of having a majority of the seats. He said that his only concern is to have a substantial majority, in order to be able to govern.

The prime minister then took questions from newsmen.

The following were the essential questions and answers.

[Question] How were the tickets distributed?

[Answer] The MSM will have 35 tickets, leaving 27 for the Labor Party and the PMSD.

[Question] Last 24 March, you told a newspaper that if the MMM excluded you, you would form your own party and that you would run for election alone. You said then that you did not want to hear any more about electoral alliances. What has happened since?

[Answer] In politics, there is always development. When a medicine is not effective, the patient tries another. One develops as the circumstances dictate.

[Question] Will Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam be a candidate? What will his role be?

[Answer] He has not yet decided.

[Question] Within the framework of the arrangement with the PMSD, will Mr Duval be minister of external affairs if the alliance wins the elections?

[Answer] For the time being, we have not yet discussed the allocation of the ministries. This will be done during the second stage.

[Question] What distinction do you make between an "alliance" and an "arrangement?"

[Answer] We are saying arrangement. We have realized that our chances are minimal or nonexistent in certain districts. We are realistic, because it is necessary to block the path of our common adversary.

[Question] What do you think of the Lallah report on the recruiting of candidates by the PAN for the 11 June 1982 elections?

[Answer] This has nothing to do with the subject I am dealing with today.

[Question] Will you retain the post of prime minister in the event of victory?

[Answer] Certainly, this is accepted by everyone.

[Question] What will the colors and the emblem of the alliance be?

[Answer] Red and white, and a key against a sun, as we promised in the 1982 elections.

[Question] You have criticized the high wage earners violently, but you have not spoken about the liberal professions (lawyers, etc.) and the businessmen who make more than 20,000 per month. Why?

[Answer] Because they are not paid by the government.

[Question] Prior to 11 June 1982, you had criticized the Ramgoolam regime very harshly. Don't you think that the people may speak now of an alliance of shame?

[Answer] For me, there is no shame. My hands are clean and my conscience clear. There was a wolf in disguise among us, and we must fight him.

[Question] You have spoken of democracy and freedom of the press. Now the PT has gone down in history as the party which imposed press censorship and repression of freedoms, as well as postponing the general and municipal elections.

[Answer] I am satisfied that if Paul Berenger had been in the position of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, the latter would be out of the picture now and there would be no more democracy, as in some countries where a dictatorship exists. If democracy still exists here, we must tip our hats to Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam.

[Question] Isn't there a contradiction between your charge to the effect that Mr Berenger is both the private sector's man and wants to make ideological experiments?

[Answer] He is an adventurer.

[Question] What do you think of the report of the Select Committee on Chagos?

[Answer] Our position remains the same. We must fight for the return of the archipelago to the island of Mauritius. What has happened is a thing of the past. It is useless to weep crocodile tears in order to extract political profit from it.

5157  
CSO: 3419/1034

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

NEW STATE LABOR SECRETARY--The Mozambique head of state, Field Marshal Samora Machel, installed the state secretary for labor, Aguiar Real Mazula, into office at a ceremony held in Maputo this morning. Aguiar Mazula has been appointed to the post of secretary of state for labor within the framework of the reorganization which took place after the Fourth Frelimo Party Congress. Present at the ceremony were members of the Council of Ministers. [Text] [MB201421 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 20 Jul 83]

NICARAGUAN AMBASSADOR HOSTS RECEPTION--In Maputo yesterday, the ambassador of Nicaragua to Mozambique gave a reception for the diplomatic corps on the occasion marking the 4th anniversary of the Sandinist revolution. Angelo Azarias Chichava, a member of the Central Committee and state secretary for civil aviation, represented our country at the ceremony. Speaking on the occasion, the Nicaraguan ambassador expressed his gratitude for the assistance rendered to his country by the Mozambican people, as well as by other peoples throughout the world. [Text] [MB201421 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0800 GMT 20 Jul 83]

CSO: 3442/300

NIGERIA

ROLE OF POWER POLITICS IN ELECTION CAMPAIGN NOTED

Emugu DAILY STAR in English 4 Jul 83 p 6

[Article by P. C. Unamka: "Power Tussle in Nigerian Politics"]

[Text] For politicians to govern, they must first of all gain power. The open campaign for votes is a means through which power is acquired in a democracy. When Nigerian politicians go on the rostrum, praising themselves and their parties and denouncing their rivals, observers should see the exercise as normal. Our experience shows that politicians are not out to praise, their rival but usually to highlight their weaknesses. Every campaign event is an opportunity for a politician to convince people to give him the power to rule. It is a game of selfishness. Political offices are sources of private gain in status, power, wealth, and personal ambition. No politician is therefore a saint all the time: A politician is ambitious for power to govern. Power, however, must be worked for, or bought and paid for, in some way. The true politician is one who often sacrifices his private life and sometimes his personal convictions to what he considers the good of the segment of society he represents, be it the Constituency, senatorial district or the entire country.

Campaigning in Nigeria is a big business and it consumes resources. Political parties find funds for the promotion of their candidates and party programmes. In a developing country as ours it often happens that the party with the richest purse wins. It may be suggested that many Nigerians vote or sponsor candidates especially for the economic rewards they hope to recoup from so doing--the ideology, the welfare of citizens, the wisdom and experience of the political office seekers are never considered. Nigerian politics is essentially a business where huge profits must accrue to the successful operators. This is the aspect of national politics that makes it revolting. We have evidence of multimillionaires between the years 1979 and 1983, who were almost beggars earlier. The derogatory aspect of national politics is that the nation brings in destructive locusts into its coffers. Political parties on gaining power are prone to throwing away the welfare of the public, or the public interest in the pursuit of financial fortunes. Party extremists often threaten, intimidate, and often deal cruelly with others suspected to have different viewpoints. The use of thugs, "fronts," and other private armies must be completely outlawed

if Nigerians are to elect those they really want to rule them. Law enforcement agencies must demonstrate high-level impartiality to political parties.

In order to stop the employment and use of "private armies," since politics is an essential part of the life of the nation, we must think seriously of how to play it fairly. One way that must not be delayed is the expectation of Mass media organs publicly owned to allocate political campaign time equally to the six political parties. The television stations, especially, must start the game of playing fair, whether they are owned by the state governments or by the federal government. At the moment there is a lot of air-time given to some political parties while some never have their activities publicized. In so doing Nigerians are only partially informed. It is dangerous to the extreme for mass media organs to constitute themselves into political offices or secretariats.

Campaign periods are interesting times in Nigeria when there is excitement especially when the big names appear on the scene. These are periods of great expectations and hopes as politicians make their promises. The big newpeople of this nation want to have is of their liberation from economic, social and political strangulation. Meanwhile, our ideology can be summed up as "development ideology" and our campaigns will comprise a litany of development projects planned or envisaged. Some will emphasize housing, others roads and yet others water or electricity. To this extent there is nothing that differentiates one political party from another. This therefore compels Nigerians to think of giving different political parties opportunities to control the federal government. We can only compare how far and how well the promises are executed with how much in terms of cost. The dynamism in Nigerian politics is therefore "change." Every four years we could ask a new political party run the affairs of the nation. This will afford us the opportunity to compare one party with another. Unfortunately Nigerians are extremely conservative in the business of changing entrenched political parties, with the result that predictions about winning can easily be made. Many reasons have been adduced to explain the lethargy in changing parties at the federal level. Some have attributed it to the effect of regionalism and tribal loyalty, others to the lack of sufficient political education, illiteracy and apathy. However, the fact that political parties that gain power off a big chunk of national revenue to the coffers of their political parties cannot be easily ruled out. The conversion of public revenue into private party coffers, although cleverly concealed, is known to be the major reason why it is difficult to replace an incumbent party. In the past, the defunct NCNC ruled the East, the Action Group ruled the West, and the NPC ruled the entire North. There has not been much change because the NPN is Kaduna/Sokoto based and is seen as such in spite of efforts to explain it in other ways. The UPN has its strongest hold in the Yoruba and neighbouring areas. The NPP is strongly based in the Igbo speaking parts of Nigeria. These three significant parties will for some years dominate the Nigerian political scene. It is unlikely they will lose their strongholds to other parties. The NPN is seen in the Igbo speaking areas as a foreign political party, almost a colonial power and does not appeal to the majority of Igbos. Possibly the

Yoruba speaking areas minimally tolerate the NPN as was evidenced by the results of the 1979 general elections. In some states such as Kaduna and Sokoto the NPP is perceived as a party led by revolutionaries who may displace Fulan supremacy. With this situation prevails, the only strategy becomes that of buying as much as your money can afford of those who indicate interest. It is common knowledge that the cost of buying over new loyalties is usually prohibitive. Humours abound of top men who were swayed over to declare for an invading party with upwards of two million naira. There may be some exaggeration, but there is that indicator that money is the centre of our political swing strategies.

When the NPN controlled federal government failed between the periods 1979 and 1983, to establish the Iron and Steel Industry or even the Petrochemical Industry in parts of Nigeria inhabited by Igbos, this neglect heightened the suspicion against the NPN. Apart from the issue of strong personalities such as Zik, this perceived non-nationalistic outlook at the NPN is going to constitute a serious hitch towards accepting that party. Party planners and strategists are sometimes short sighted on National Issues with the result that they fail to heal old wounds. The Igbos as an example see the distribution of iron and steel as a serious national error and it will be difficult to convince them otherwise.

#### Kaduna Mafia

Again using the philosophy of the "Mainstream politics" propagated by the NPN as a measure of resistance, it will be seen that it implies elements of inferiority-superiority feeling. The press has already created the impression that the NPN, for example is owned by the "Kaduna Mafia" and asking other major ethnic groups to abandon completely the political parties where they play major roles nationally to accept an alternative amounts to abuse. Who owns the mainstream of Nigerian politics? The answer, to this question is not clear to anybody. The hidden suspicion wroughts more harm than the expressed reasons and explanations. Old prejudices and fears explain why it will be extremely difficult for any one political party to work out a strategy that will carry the entire nation. Those who step out of tune are seen as saboteurs of the trust and hopes of their local people. It is political suicide to be too fast in changing political colours. Many Nigerians adopt the attitude of wait and see.

In the Igbo speaking areas there is also the new gospel of "re-integrating the Igbos" which has done a lot more harm than good. Such a doctrine nagates the popularity accepted idea of no victor, no vanquished which ended the civil war and brought about amity and some measure of cordiality. Again people are asking to whom or to what segment of Nigeria are the Igbo people going to be attached or sold? Nigerian Igbos rather think that they must work hard to break the monopoly of political power which seems to be institutionalized and assigned to one geographical portion of the country. For the stability and peace of our dear country the power base must be shifted at least temporarily. Politicians who are persuading Nigerians that political power

must stay in only one segment of Nigeria are only promoting confusion and chaos. The objective situation in Nigeria is that of the existence of a multi-ethnicity. It pains to see one ethnic group year in year out produce the political power holders. This is the crux of the matter in Nigerian nationalism, and Nigerian politics. A realistic solution must be found. The constitution was extremely mute in this area. Nigerian scholars, statesmen and patriots must find a solution to this vexing question and courageously amend matters constitutionally.

The doctrine of "re-integration" which features in political campaigns suggests one permanent political base to which all Nigerians must aspire to get to or nothing happens. Those who have been bought one way or the other blinded by passion and money stupidly mislead the nation with false theories of "re-integration." Re-integration assumes that there is a superior ethnic group to which others must constantly look up to. The struggle should be how to meet this "superior-super-power." So that other ethnic groups can earn their share of the national cake.

The advocates of re-integration, reject the idea of equality to the chagrin of the masses and the majority peoples of Nigeria. Re-integration by itself implies inequality of status, and inequality of citizenship. Nigerian politicians in their campaign should relegate ideas that tend to divide the nation especially those that rekindle hatred and spite of the yester-years.

The fault in the strategy of the NPN as a political party in Anambra and Imo States, as examples was that in the 1979/83 period it failed to sponsor social, industrial, economic or educational projects that could benefit the masses. It underrated the level of political awareness of the masses inhabiting these areas. Individuals were given contracts personal to them and their families whereas the impression was definitely created that Anambra and Imo were in the NPN's blacklist. The efforts of the party was therefore concentrated in blocking any socio-economic advantages that could filter into these areas. Their strategists instead of tempting the people with federal amenities occupied their time with inventing slogans such as join the mainstream of Nigerian politics, the promise of future goodies is highly probabilistic and so the party out of its own making lost its opportunities. The Igbos definitely deserved a steel rolling mill and the NPN should have made friends with that.

For politicians to succeed in making a cohesive nation out of a multi-ethnic group, they must not be blinded by party interests and power conservation. Ruling political parties in the distribution of social and economic amenities must place the map before them. It is difficult to explain how the Igbo speaking areas could escape the minds of politicians in the allocation of significant industries. Areas where political parties have influence is never a fixed matter and therefore political decision makers at the federal level must work out a more acceptable strategy of distribution that can reassure everyone and every part of the country.

[Following two paragraphs are boxed items]

In order to stop the employment and use of "private armies," since politics is an essential part of the life of the nation, we must think seriously of how to play it fairly. One way that must not be delayed is the expectation of Mass media organs publicly owned to allocate political campaign time equally to the six political parties. The television stations, especially, must start the game of playing fair, whether they are owned by the state governments or by the federal government.

Again using the philosophy of the "Mainstream politics" propagated by the NPN as a measure of resistance, it will be seen that it implies elements of inferiority-superiority feeling. The press has already created the impression that the NPN, for example, is owned by the "Kaduna Mafia" and asking other major ethnic groups to abandon completely the political parties where they play major roles nationally to accept an alternative amounts to abuse. Who owns the mainstream of Nigerian politics?

CSO: 3400/1657

NIGERIA

FEAR OF COUNTING VOTES AT POLLING BOOTHS VOICED

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 4 Jul 83 p 7

[Article by Supo Ibikunle]

[Text] 'With the recent wave of terrorism, one fears that the country may not have a peaceful election. Nigeria is not like the United States of America, nor the United Kingdom where partymen accept defeat without any grudge. Here in Nigeria, no one accepts defeat in a sportsmanlike spirit. In fact, our political leaders fear defeat, not to talk of accepting it in good faith.

That is why our governments adopt near-fascist methods against town or areas which belong to the rival party.'

The president was quite emphatic about it--the use of soldiers during the forthcoming elections--No.

His government will not release members of the Nigerian Army for deployment during the elections, Alhaji Shehu Shagari said on the NTV network programme "Newsweek."

The President was answering Mallam Abba Dabo, the editor of the SUNDAY NEW NIGERIA on issues concerning security at the forthcoming elections.

It was the second time Alhaji Shehu Shagari made the announcement.

Soldiers are maintained to safeguard the nation's territorial integrity, he explains. They are not available to supplement police activities.

But that raises the question: Are we truly prepared for the innovation being introduced into the system of balloting in Nigeria? With no additional hands, can the police alone do the manning of polling stations?

For the first time ever in the history of Nigeria, votes cast at the polling stations may be counted at the polling stations come next August.

This decision was the most controversial part of the new amendments to the Electoral Law passed recently by the National Assembly.

While debating the amendment in the Senate, Senator Jonathan Odebiyi, the UPN Senate leader, described the decision to count our votes right at the polling stations after voting in the evenings as a move to "plug a very big area of rigging."

According to the UPN Senate leader, allegation of boxes missing in transit after the elections would be a matter of the past. He then alleged that "the armoured vehicles that had been ordered by the NPN Federal Government for the police were meant for carrying ballot boxes to where no polling agent would have access."

He concluded, "in taking such a decision (to count votes at polling stations) the Senate was also trying to reduce the possibility of clashes." Here, I humbly beg to disagree.

To what extent can we go in plugging all rigging plans? Do we have to go to the absurd in order to elect our leaders?

Ballot boxes missing in transit is just one out of a hundred and one way of rigging. And it is one rigging method that party official can easily police. The plan to rig can be countered by devoted party agents who insist on following the ballot box from the polling stations to the counting centres, allowing no diversion during transportation.

And indeed, where a diversion is forced and the box is lost or changed, a very good party agent and a crowd of party supporters then have a business to establish the fact in any subsequent litigation. Indeed, can anyone foolishly do such a thing in the presence of eager and anxious opponents?

#### Risks

Moreover, counting of votes at polling stations stands some risks. There are some instances to cite.

It was alleged that during the First Republic, voting machinery in some parts of the country were so made that by the time of counting, the party leaders in the wards or localities already had an almost accurate result, figure by figure. How?

The ballot boxes were so arranged that the observer could read where the voters went individually. And some polling stations were so strategically placed that the village head could monitor voting patterns.

Today, that is no more possible. There is only one box for all contestants, and so one will not be able to read the other's moves in the 'dark room.'

And as recent as late last year, one gubernatorial nomination primary in one of the western states became a highly controversial issue that it split the party into factions.

The victims alleged that in the heat of balloting, someone discovered that a hole had been dug behind the polling station close to the ballot box. Some stalwarts were found replacing the original ballot box with another one which was already filled up with ballot papers! Counting at polling stations is still faced with similar temptation.

Now, to the question of reducing political clashes which Senator Odebiyi claims will be an advantage of the new bill.

Instead of his optimism, one should fear that the worst could happen on the day of election. Counting at polling stations is very prone to violent uprisings in the evenings in most of the hundreds of thousands of polling stations scattered all over Nigeria.

With the recent wave of terrorism one fears that we may not have a peaceful election. Can we imagine it? Where party 'A' realises it is weak, nothing stops it from organising violent attacks on the polling booths to prevent counting in the evenings.

Nigeria is not like the United States of America, nor the United Kingdom where partymen accept defeat without any grudge. Here in Nigeria, no one accepts defeat in a sportsman like spirit. In fact, our political leaders fear defeat not to talk of accepting it in good faith.

That is why our governments adopt near fascist methods against towns or areas which belong to the rival party.

What is the rationale for keeping armies of thugs? It may not be because the hirer fears 'external' attacks, but because he has a job to do to prevent being defeated at the polls; he has some violent intimidation works to do on the 'enemies' if he had to win the next election.

#### Intimidation

What, then, is the state of national security forces available for the coming elections? The number of policemen now available will do to man only a third of the polling stations. And, indeed, one policeman to one polling station is no ideal logistic situation for such an innovation as counting the ballots at the polling stations.

What about employing the army? To FEDECO and other likeminds, the support of our soldiers is a necessity during the elections, at best to supplement the police efforts for security.

But sometime ago, the UPN condemned the move to employ soldiers for election purposes. From the word go therefore, that party had got one more evidence with which to nail the FEDECO in case of 'negative' results if in effect soldiers took part.

Our soldiers can easily become the 1983 scape-goats the way Chief Justice Fatayi Williams and Michael Ani became pegs on which the UPN hung its defeat in 1979.

Talking of violence at polls reminds me of the Western Regional election of 1965. On polling day, October 11, 1965, a crowd of people mobbed a polling station in Owo, Ondo State, towards the end of the day. The presiding officer got lost during the melee.

The policeman on duty could not help issues and when later more policemen came into the show the presiding officer was found. A man was arrested with 480 ballot papers on him.

Another presiding officer at a polling station at Mamu had to be rushed unconscious to Ijebu Ode General Hospital, following injuries he received during an attack on his polling station by thugs.

Party fanatics should be feared for they can go to any length to forestall defeat. Where they realise there is a clear defeat they can do anything to prevent ballots being counted at the polling stations concerned.

The handful of people (counting officials, presiding officers, the party agents, and the police) at the counting can be scared away with gun shots from nowhere but somewhere. And they may be fatal.

Like it happened during the 1965 elections. At a polling station in Mushin a driver was killed, and two other voters injured when gun shots were fired at a crowd at the polling station. There was a stampede!

But this had never been the case at counting centres because heavier crowds of people including large batches of the police congregate there to witness the counting; and everyone is attentive. No foul play. To what extent can we rely on our security forces? Especially when matched against the common will?

#### Optimistic

Where the will to "seize the law into your hands and correct the wrongs" is the cathechism, one can only be optimistic at one's own risk. And, there is only a little the security forces can do when a people are determined to cause chaos!

For instance, sometime in September 1965, some policemen from Abeokuta who were on duty at a roadblock at Asero on the Abeokuta--Ibadan road were beaten up by thugs because they (the police) demanded to search the thugs' vehicles, a car and a jeep.

Fear breeds regimentation, and extreme fear leads to unwholesome regimentation. We should not allow the fear of defeat or election rigging to blind us to these facts.

It is better to be alive and go to court to challenge election results than to be assassinated at counting just because "you are plugging a big hole in the area of rigging."

I hope this is one bill which calls for a presidential veto to save the nation from chaos on election day.

The elections may end up in a stalemate if there is so much terrorism at the counting stage.

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NIGERIA

ETHNIC UNDERCURRENTS OF NPN CAMPAIGN NOTED

Enugu DAILY STAR in English 30 Jun 83 p 5

[The Mike Iwenofu column: "The Last Days of Zoning System"]

[Text] Who would be NPN (National Party of Nigeria) presidential candidate in 1987. Would he/she be Hausa, Fulani, Kanun; or Igbo, Yoruba, Edo, Efik and whatever else?

With elections around the corner and very much the worry of many, especially politicians, it is significant that groups are already emerging within the NPN, each resolutely poised to defend its partisan stand on this issue which, to all the groups, appears to be a centre of no compromise.

More significant still, some very important personalities in that party do not consider silence as golden on the issue. They choose to speak up, doubtless to leave no one in any doubt how they feel on the crucial issue.

When he opened his campaign tour in Ogun State earlier this month, Chief Adisa Akinloye, the party's national chairman reiterated what now appears to be his resolute and uncompromising stand on the issue. The chief made it abundantly clear that the next presidential candidate of the party must be a Yoruba; or....

Chief Akinloye's statement, perfunctory and innocuous at first sight, is dangerously loaded. It was indeed intended to be so. It was intended to serve a purpose--a counter-poise to an earlier statement made by one of the most important fishes in the NPN mainstream.

About a week before Chief Akinloye restated his stand and that of his kinsmen on the issue, Alhaji Maitama Sule had sent up a trial balloon. In an interview with a News Agency correspondent, the Alhaji announced that he would contest the presidential nomination of his party in 1987--zoning or no zoning.

Like Chief Akinloye's that at first sight would be regarded as a vicious, after dinner statement. But it is far from that. The full import of Alhaji Maitama's "declaration of intent" emerges when the declaration is juxtaposed with events in the recent past: the feelings of the party's inner circle on the rotation of the presidency vis-a-vis the furore which the very same issue generated some 16 months ago--at the party's Kano Convention.

It was the horse-trading at that convention which saved the explosive issue from blowing into the open, handed President Shagari the party's presidential ticket for the current race, ensured Chief Akinloye's return as party "boss" and repulsed Chief Moshood Abiola's thrust to Ribadu Road thus inducing his unceremonious retirement from partisan politics.

Abiola had the makings of a president: age, a good grasp of international politics and finance as well as charisma. And he had and still has substantial wealth which, aided by his large-heartedness, he gave out freely without discrimination as to tribe or religion thus further strengthening his acceptability to a wide spectrum of the people.

To his chagrin and utter discomfiture of the wealthy Alhaji however, he found out after Kano that he had no right to aspire to Ribadu Road under the NPN--a party his wealth helped in no small measure to nuture. And he was told that much by one of the president's men.

With neither regard nor caution, Alhaji Umaru Dikko told Chief Abiola point blank: "The presidency is not for sale." And Chief Abiola got the message. He found out that zoning was simply a feudal device for the perpetuation of the hegemony of the elect of Allah!--the Divine Right law of the cabal that owns and controls the NPN.

What is intriguing is not that Alhaji Maitama Sule expressed a wish. It is its timing. Only fools will fail to see it as a warning shot that zoning which is paraded as the anchor of the NPN would come under review sooner than later.

#### The Lesser Stream

The truth here is that those who founded the NPN have never concealed their disdain for the idea of ever having Nigeria's topmost executive post occupied by any one outside the circle of the new elect of God.

Suleiman Takuma made this clear when he was party scribe. Dr Ibrahim Tahir who was secretary in the formative days of the party has never left any one in doubt as to his stand on the zoning system. And now blue-blooded Maitama Sule.

As the founding fathers of the NPN would admit, zoning was conceptualised to enable them [to] scale over some initial problems before they consolidate their grip on the country. They recognise that the "mainstream doctrine," which they preach and their vassals echo will disappear when once the Presidency lapses into the hands of any one outside "the mainstream." The founding fathers of the NPN form "the mainstream." Others around them are mere appendages--"the lesser streams."

But even the lesser stream elements know the truth. But like our brothers and sisters who were taking into slavery and sang the Negro spirituals to pad off the painful ordeal of slave labour, local NPN appendages preach the zoning gospel. It gives them some comfort--some forlorn hope of a reward in future.

More than that, for the present, it gives them the pep to earn their keep-licking spitum of their fellow men and getting their pay in Naira and Kobo.

Alhaji Maitama Sule says that zoning is a colossal joke. Dr Tahir concedes that if ten northern states should be regarded as a zone, the entire south with only nine states should on no account pass for more than one zone. There is logic in that. Dr Tahir has considerable following on the issue; and his theory is about the highest which the lords of the party will ever concede--and concede is the word.

#### Danger Year

If therefore, with the best of luck, the NPN hands over its presidential ticket for 1987 to a person of Chief Akinloye's choice, that will seal the hopes of any one east of the Niger, winning NPN presidential nomination until 2003; that is, sixteen years from then. The question is: Would that be acceptable to the people--especially the Igbos who are daily being cooed by their emergent messiahs to troop into the mainstream that their reward is around the corner? The answer is no!

If, on the other hand, the ticket is given to an Igbo, would it be acceptable to the Yorubas. Again, the answer is no! There is the argument that a Yoruba, Chief Akinloye, holds the "highest" post in the NPN, but then the vice president of the Federation is Igbo and he got the post under the NPN. Which of the two groups surrenders! That is the big question.

The solution to the problem is not easy to come by. It becomes more complicated when the issue of minorities is injected into it.

When Dr. Clement Isong, Cross River State Governor, warned of dire consequences should zoning be tampered with, he was merely expressing his admiration for a system he believed offered his people (and other minority groups) the hope, no matter how forlorn, of ever producing the nation's Number One citizen.

Governor Aper Aku of Benue State, another minority group, thinks differently. He postulated the six-zoning theory as the surest hope, of his people and the minorities generally.

While these were happening--Chief Yomi Minister for State in the Ministry of Finance and Engr Mike Ugwu, Chairman of the House of Reps Committee on Communication had both threatened hail and brimstone if the zoning system does not hand over the NPN presidential ticket to their zones--Yoruba and Igbo respectively--come 1987. There are many others who feel the same way. And there is only one crown!

Some five weeks ago, Governor Sam Mbakwe prophesied that the NPN will die in Imo and Anambra States after this year as a result of intra-party squabbles.

From the look of things I see 1986 as the danger year for the party. That is the year that will give it the Hobson's choice: Keep zoning and face trouble; revise zoning and die.

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NIGERIA

DETAILS ON NEW MEMBERSHIP OF SENATE GIVEN

Lagos SUNDAY TIMES in English 3 Jul 83 p 1

[Article by Sam Nwanuforo]

[Text] More than 6 out of every 10 members in the next Senate beginning in October 1983 will be new members.

This is because 62 out of the present 95 members (65 per cent) are not recontesting. Understandably, therefore, only 33 members (35 per cent) are vying for membership in the forthcoming elections. The number of new faces could be higher still, if some of the 33 recontesting members lose the Senatorial race.

According to a SUNDAY TIMES investigation, 62 senators are not returning to the Senate as a result of reasons which include voluntary withdrawal, death and inability to scale through nomination contests.

Of these 62, 22 are from the NPN (which had 36 in 1979) and 19 are from the UPN (which had 28 in 1979) and 9 from the NPP out of its 16 senators in 1979. The GNPP and the PRP which in 1979 had 8 and 7 senators respectively, are losing 6 senators each.

Of the 33 senators who are recontesting, 14 are from the NPN, 9 are from the UPN while the NPP has 7. The GNPP and the PRP have 1 and 2 senators respectively.

Three senators are quitting in order to contest the governorship elections in their states. They are Senators Cornelius Adebayo (Kwara Central, UPN), Senator Donald Etiebet (Ikot Ekpene Cross River, NPN), and Senator Barkin Zuwo (Kano Central, PRP).

One senator, Alhaji Mohammed Uba Ahmed (Bauchi South East NPN), is withdrawing voluntarily in order to concentrate on his duties as NPN National Secretary a post he won in December last year. Eleven senators are resigning their memberships to set up their private businesses. They claim that their four-year stint in the Senate has not paid off very well.

Of the 33 senators who hope to return to the Senate six are recontesting in parties other than those that sponsored them in 1979.

They include, senators Nathaniel Anah (Anambra) from NPP to NPN, Senator Nosike Ikpo (Bendel) UPN to NPN, Offiah Nwali (Anambra) NPP to UPN; Ameh Ebute (Benue) NPN to NPP; Jaffaru Manga (Borno) GNPP to NPN; and Bitius Kajal (Gongola) GNPP to NPN.

Three of the nonreturning senators are dead. They are Senators Joseph Tarka (NPN, Benue East Central); Alhaji Ibrahim Kola (NPN Bida, Niger State) and Mohammed Musa Agwai (NPN Plateau.)

#### Quorum

Majority of the Senators, more of NPN than others, who lost their bid for renomination have ceased attending Senate deliberations and this accounts for the lack of quorum frequently experienced by the Senate in the recent times.

The present senate whose legislative life span would end on October 8, 1983 was inaugurated on October 9, 1979.

The members are, at present on a 2-month recess, and will resume on September 5, when probably all the elections would have been held, and in time to swear in the President in the Third Republic on October 1, 1983.

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NIGERIA

CREATION OF NEW STATES OPPOSED

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 4, 5 Jul 83

[Two-part article by Dr. Chukwuemeka Ezeife]

[4 Jul 83, p 3]

[Text] Possibly the most unpopular issue for anyone to oppose at this stage is the creation of new states. However, the analyst must stop and think about the economics of new states, the politics of new states and the political economy of new states.

Why do people want new states in their areas? Given their reasons or objectives, is the creation of more states the only way to satisfy those reasons or objectives? What alternative solutions are possible? What strong case against too many new states exists?

Many people want more states in Nigeria for genuine reasons while some want these states for subjective and selfish reasons.

One set of the objective reasons are derived from the provisions and operation of the present (1979) Constitution. In general, the Constitution and especially, its operation, have tended to over-emphasize equity as between states almost to the total neglect of equity as between people. Equality of opportunities almost merely refer to the equality of opportunities between states. Given this situation, the greater the number of states in a given geographical or ethnic area relative to the other areas, the greater the share of the national "goodies" going to that area. Thus, the demand for more states is a rational economic action.

Another reason for agitating for states is the segmentation of the society. Since the governor has to come from somewhere, people belonging to segments different from that of the governor's have a pre-disposition to see unfairness especially in the distribution of amenities within the state. Thus, the present government is seen by those who are not from the governor's power base as "their government" and they demand for "our government."

Then, there is the idea of growth poles. Normally, a seat of government attracts development and the nearer you are to that seat and the greater the number of such seats in your area, the greater is your access to development and all that it entails: the value of your hitherto unused land may appreciate, your children may even get employment near enough that you do not have to worry about their immigration, etc.

Are there alternative ways of achieving the objectives of the state agitators? Perhaps. But from the national point of view, not all the objectives are attainable and relevant. The selfish motives of the current generation of leading politicians which are geared towards enhancing personal status should be discounted or ignored--even though they are the most potent forces behind the agitation for new states.

The objective of achieving "our government" must be dismissed as simply infeasibly unattainable. If we make every village a state, the segments within the village will merge. This result is guaranteed by what the sociologist calls the principle of inter-segmentary complementary opposition. Within Oyo State for example the Oshun is a unit and fights like one--on Oshun solidarity platform, but when we go down to Oshun, we observe a multiplicity of units each with its group solidarity. In the limit, it will be every nuclear family (father, mother and children) to itself.

There may be alternative ways of achieving the other objectives of the state agitators but each alternative makes heavy demands on statesmanship and political courage. Their only advantage is that they represent more responsible and efficient ways of solving the problems, even though they may not be party-politically sexy. Besides, they demand no more efforts than have already been consumed on the new states issue.

The growth pole objective is attainable with the local government system. The problems now include the fact that local government areas (LGA's) have been multiplied to the extent of inefficiency and ineffectiveness.

Indeed, some of them have become anti-growth poles in the states where, because of their number and the consequent high personal emolument and other recurrent expenditure, they are harassing local communities, raising the cost of economic activities, "raiding" markets and thereby reducing man's propensity to trade.

The local governments can be made more effective by reconstitution, increased powers and funds. The problem is that people who have got their LGAs and LGA headquarters will loathe the mergers which may be necessary for increased effectiveness and efficiency.

However, with determined and sustained enlightenment campaign and political courage, a new tier of government which should serve a group of LGs can be created where too many LGAs exist. The existing LGAs become mere agencies of the supra-LGs.

The supra-LGs would then be the LGs as specified in the Constitution and receive their funds direct from the Central Government. Common services and some supervision would continue to be provided by the state governments.

The main point here is that a meaningful approach to LGAs would satisfy the growth pole objective.

A drastic approach to the problem of locating Federal Government's economic activities may be to reduce such activities to the minimum. For as long as the revenue allocation system is upset and federalism and equality of opportunities between people are undermined, it is bound to be a source of continuing tension.

It can be argued that the states may not have the resources, on their own to engage in those areas which are so-called "commanding heights of the economy," the definition of which is at least nebulous.

A way out, may be to follow through the spirit of the Fundamental Objectives and Directives of Policy as enshrined in Chapter Two of the Constitution and introduce development institutions along with the Politico-administrative institutions represented by the present three tiers of government and their supporting institutions.

I believe that a constitution should be directed towards solving the major problems facing the society for which it is made and that the major problems facing Nigeria are developmental and require a Development Oriented Constitution.

Such a development Constitution should make adequate provisions for Development Institutions which, in the Nigerian context may take the form of Zonal Development Agencies (Banks).

In this case, a zone is an area, made up of a number of states and large enough to support engagement in those economic activities which make up the commanding heights of the economy and which may be too lumpy for the present states to handle individually. There may be four to six zones for Nigeria and the first level of revenue allocation would be between the Development Institutions as a group and the Politico-Administrative Institutions as the other group.

The point to emphasize is that these institutions should derive their legitimacy, their powers and their funds direct from the Constitution, in just the same way as the politico-administrative institution. With the Development Institutions, there would be no need for the Federal Government to be involved directly in economic activities except for control and basic service purposes.

[Following paragraph in box]

"Are there alternate ways of achieving the objectives of state agitators? Perhaps. But from the national point of view, not all the objectives are attainable and relevant. The selfish motives of the current generation of leading politicians which are geared towards enhancing personal status should be discounted or ignored even though they are the most potent forces behind the agitation for new states."

[5 Jul 83 p 3]

[Text] Two changes in revenue allocation can whittle down some of the problems and possibly reduce the demand for more states. One change is to raise the allocation to the states by removing much of the Federal responsibilities in direct economic activities.

Another change is to reduce the emphasis on the equality of states in the formula for revenue allocation and increase the emphasis on the equality of people. This is achieved by raising the percentage of revenue allocated on the basis of population and reducing the percentage based on equality.

Up to 75-80 per cent of the revenue may be allocated on the basis of population and 10-15 per cent on the basis of equality of states; 5 per cent may be allocated on the basis of geographical extent and the other criteria may get 5-10 per cent.

These two changes, even without introducing Development institutions, will have favourable impacts on the pressure for more states, and combined with development institutions, they render the demand for more states much less significant.

If we accept development institutions or the proposed changes in revenue allocation, the issue of Federal character and how it is implemented will raise less problems than as at now. And the idea of Federal character must be seen as brilliant and practical--even though the Constitution may have gone too far on some specifics. For example, if we end up with 40 states, will it be constitutional to have 20, 30, 39 ministers?

For the good of the country, we must retain the concept of Federal character but its implementation should be carefully worked out; just as in the case of revenue allocation it should be possible, in general, to base say 80 per cent of decisions and actions on efficiency or merit criterion and 20 per cent of Federal character.

The foregoing development alternatives are offered in place of creating more states because new states will reduce the funds available for development projects, that it, those projects with which to fight poverty, ignorance and disease; lead to the dissipation of even the reduced capital funds on "easy" and generally irrelevant or low impact, future-problem projects; reduce the general level of efficiency in the economy; multiply under-employment and disguised unemployment, etc.

On the reduction of capital development funds, government expenditure can be divided into two categories: the capital or development expenditure and the recurrent expenditure. Capital expenditure is made up of funds spent on the creation of industry, the development of agricultural projects, building bridges, educational institutions, hospitals and similar development projects.

The recurrent expenditures are those devoted mostly to the upkeep of the machinery of government: wages and salaries of public officers, rent, furnishing, travelling, utilities, office equipment, general administration and similar expenditures.

It should be noted that the recurrent expenditures have the first claim on government revenue and that it is the surplus of revenue over recurrent expenditures that can be devoted to capital or development expenditure.

It should therefore be obvious that any increase in the number of states will lead to increase in the share of recurrent expenditure: each new post of governor will require funds for the up-keep of the office--personal assistants, housing, security, office equipment, etc.

There will be new commissioners, advisers, permanent secretaries and other officers, all of whom call for funds for the up-keep of their offices. New Secretariat will be built and maintained when too many new states are created there may even be the problem of finding enough funds to maintain the apparatus of government.

The net effect is the reduction of funds (if any) available for growth and development. In the resulting financial squeeze, new sources of revenue will be sought and this will force the governments to descend on the resources available to the private sector through new taxes, fees and other charges.

So both directly, through the limitations of development funds available to government and, indirectly through the diversion of funds in the private sector too many new states will become agents of under-developing Nigeria instead of creating growth poles!

And the meagre funds that may still be available for capital projects will be spent on easy projects as each governor wants to leave a record behind. The long gestation periods, and the greater complexities of basic development projects in industry and agriculture will make these projects unattractive.

Instead, universities, colleges of technology, roads leading to local political areas, museums, hospitals, electricity generators, and such class of projects will be the main areas of "capital investment."

This class of projects creates increasing demands for future recurrent expenditure. For instance it costs more to run a university than to build one.

Succeeding governments will inherit ever increasing recurrent charges and high debt burdens including external debts used to implement such "capital projects" like state radio and television houses which were necessary because government must publicize its activities and "educate" the people through the electronic mass media.

The greater the number of new states, the wider the zone of political action, the greater the intensity of political involvement, the higher the number of serious political pressure points and thus the more pervasive the role of politics in decisionmaking.

Party politics in general, and the Nigerian brand of it in particular, by over-emphasizing party allegiance, almost to the total neglect of merit and efficiency, reduces the general efficiency of the socio-economic systems.

Unemployment and disguised employment will increase. First, because there are no funds for developing the basic productive and meaningful employment generating sectors such as industry and agriculture;

Second, because the pressures of brothers, cousins, in-laws and outlaws, will ensure the swelling of the cadres of the Civil Service with people who not only produce nothing but who by diverting others' attention from the work, reduce the total production of the establishments.

It is not just realistic to say that the report on state creation constraints the new states to have fewer commissioners and other functionaries. If we must have many more new states, we must not start with creating the states but rather with amending the Constitution in the following minimal ways:

Define a state to fit the description of a super local government (removing the judiciary and changing the designations of functionaries) and (b) transfer residual powers from the states to the federal government. If these minimal changes transform the political system from Federal to quasi-unitary, such transformation should be accepted as the logical consequence of our actions.

The advocates of new states have made known the yearnings of their people, and the highest legislative bodies in the nation have acknowledged their application. It appears naturally reasonable, and also consistent with the spirit of the Constitution that we adopt the principle of incrementalism and start with creating three or five new states in the first instance leaving the fate of the rest to the future.

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NIGERIA

UPN SHOCKED BY INCREASING NUMBER OF DEFECTIONS

Calabar SUNDAY CALL in English 3 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] More leading members of the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) in the Cross River State are getting ready to quit the party.

A foundation member of the party in the state hinted SUNDAY CALL that "mass resignation in the party is imminent."

Speaking at the premises of the party's secretariat along Mayne Avenue shortly after UPN's rally in Calabar last week, the source said the decision is sequel to the recent resignation of three foundation members of the party.

The officials are the state vice chairman, Chief Etim Jacob Duke, former secretary of the party in the state, Barrister Mac Odey and the chairman of the Oniong Nnung Ndem federal constituency, Mr. R.C. Umofia.

The UPN man, a candidate for the House of Representatives, said the resignation of the three stalwarts is causing serious concern to members of the party in the state.

"I think they are right to take the decision," he admitted. "From what I now see this is a signal for the failure of the party in this year's election."

Another source close to the party secretariat told SUNDAY CALL that a series of secret meetings has been held among the party's hierarchy since the resignation of the three officers.

According to the source, a national officer of the UPN is quoted to have described the resignation as a "shocker" for the party.

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NIGERIA

REHABILITATED OJUKWU VOICES SUPPORT FOR SHAGARI

Lagos SUNDAY TIMES in English 26 Jun, 3 Jul 83]

[Two-part interview with Chief Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu]

[26 Jun 83 pp 12-13]

[Text] It's been a year since Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu returned from a 13-year-exile to be re-integrated into the Nigerian family, whose viability he had had reasons to doubt." Biafra was a painful product of history. Yet it seemed an inevitable turning point.

For 30 months Ojukwu was up in arms--in rebellion. Then came the flight, to Ivory Coast. The war ended. And the process of the three R's began. Reconstruction was essentially a physical proposition. Rehabilitation also has a large material component. But reconciliation is mostly intangible; a psychological element often of tricky proportions and appreciation.

There would however appear to have been a resolute will to get ahead with the job of re-instilling mutual confidence.

President Shehu Shagari's grant of unconditional pardon to the man, who for so long threatened the very foundation of his fatherland was to be an exceptional gesture to consummate the process.

Eneka Odumegwu Ojukwu who has since been installed the Ikemba of Nnewi, did not himself believe his luck until he arrived safely to tumultuous cheering, not boos; if nevertheless sprinkled perhaps necessarily, with mixed feelings from some who nursed personal losses from the bloody affront that he mounted.

He told SUNDAY TIMES editor Andy Akpurugo, he would rather continue to enjoy quietly, what he believes to be his immense popular support and his mystique than get "overexposed" on cameras and sheets.

But what do you do with a man who must continue to be important in the nation's history, and who in any case, trusts the future much more than he cherishes the past? He might also have been grossly misunderstood.

Several trips to his "bunker" in Enugu earned enterprising correspondents Basil Okafor and Nduka Nwosu the material for the serial which begins today on these pages.

This is the first time out, this large; by the Ikemba. He himself says it's unique.

Understandably, Chief Ojukwu avoids some of the details, for now; otherwise he approached his subjects, once the talking started, with frankness and astonishing thoroughness.

It is a running conversation and we invite you to feel it as it happened, in a near-verbatim presentation of questions and answers for your delight.

Question: Yes, sir, is it true that there's any quarrel or disagreement between yourself and the Vice-President, and what is the relationship between yourself and the President?

Answer: There are two questions in that, the first one talking about the Vice-President, the next taking about the President. Let me take the President first. It's only natural, he is the President.

My relationship with him has been extremely cordial. We have met a few times, privately. We have also met publicly at rallies. I am convinced personally that there is a certain rapport. The chemistry is right, we can discuss. But as of now, I cannot say that I am an intimate friend of the President. We are in the same party. I am proud to be in the party he is in. I have faith, I have confidence in his ability to lead this country. I believe he is a very fairminded person.

What happens usually, when one is in the seat of power and indeed, that will probably take me to the next part of your question, is that a number of people make a career of the man in power. I am happy to say that as far as President Shagari is concerned, there has been no evidence of this.

Our discussions have been most direct. I don't know what he thinks of me, but as far as I'm concerned, I think that he and I certainly can work together. He as President and I as a member of his party, albeit a prominent member.

Now, if we move to the Vice-President--Alex...I am sometimes very amused by a number of people who crowd around trying to interpret me, Alex. I don't know how many people realise that, actually, I have known Alex intimately since 1945 (chuckles)...when he arrived in King's College. I was a year ahead of him... and, again, with Alex, we became friends instantly. He came from the East, my parents were in Lagos.

My parents were not his guardians but we were such intimate friends that in fact my home was his home whilst he was in Lagos. I left him and went to England. As soon as I came back we met again. Throughout the war, I doubt if there was, in fact, a period of 3 days that Alex was not in my house....

Question: (interruption)... During the war, sir?

Answer: During the war...oh! yes, and it wasn't, in fact to discuss the war or anything like that, no... purely personal friendship. He would arrive, late at night, to keep me company because I'm a late worker and when I finish I need to unwind and we would play cards, talk about old times, have a drink or two. But since my return, with him as Vice-President....

Question: (interruption)...Sorry to cut you sir, where was he staying then and what role was he playing then, during the war....

Answer: No, no...he was just a loyal Biafran in those days...a businessman, he did what he could, he helped when he could, he lived like everybody else, today in Owerri tomorrow in Aba and so on and so forth, moving with the changes, you know, that took place during the war....

He would come and sit at night, help me unwind. We would listen to music, play cards, and then, since my return, of course, the situation has changed. He's the Vice-President.

Question: (interruption) Between 1970 and..em..up to the time he was Vice-President, was there a communication gap, sort of, since you were very intimate friends?

Answer: Let's say we did not exchange letters, but certainly, we exchanged messages. There's hardly anybody of our old friends that would meet me and I wouldn't ask about Alex and I know he did exactly the same. And even before I got back, I mean, if there was anything really urgent that my family wanted some help on, they would go to Alex.

Naturally, Alex knows my mother very well, knows my aunties all of them, my cousins.... And since my return, of course, a number of people who have made a career around Alex have tried from time to time to rush up to me, to give me certain information, how to approach Alex, how to do this and that, I get quite amused.

To answer your question really, Alex and I have very, very good personal rapport. And politics, there is, yes, I must admit, a slight communication gap. He's in Lagos, I'm essentially in Enugu, but apart from that, even in our work, we discuss most things together.

I was rather surprised when I saw the CONCORD publication that there was a quarrel between Alex and myself. I don't sense any quarrel. Mind you, it would be totally false to pretend that from 1945 to date, we've not had differences of opinion. We do have differences of opinion but then we resolve them.

The thing you have to understand actually, also, is that the house I live in Lagos belongs to Alex. I still live in that house till today, and there's no time I'm in Lagos I don't go to his house. I don't know...the number of times I have eaten in his house.

Question: Sir, you talked about distance being a factor of communication gap. How can distance create a communication between you in Enugu and him in Lagos.

Answer: Well, let's get this straight...when somebody is as prominent as the Vice-President of Nigeria, sycophancy is essentially the problem. A lot of people are around, anxious to carry tales from one area to the other. They go to him, they say one thing. There is no way, our telephone services being what they are...there's no way of checking. Some of these stories are dramatised to an extent that somehow one is obliged to act before checking.

What I am happy about, actually, is that the situation such as I have enunciated are quite few but they do occur. To get to Lagos by telephone, sometimes I'm cut off from Lagos for 3 days. These things do happen, but whenever we meet we try to review what has happened, and that's it.

Question: Sir, to digress, sycophancy. This is a factor I know is responsible for so many things that happen around people of some prominence. How has it affected your own person. I'm talking about sycophancy now...(interruptions)

Answer: Well, let's put it this way. All my adult life I have spent handling human beings. As an army officer, the greatest attribute one can have is man-management, the ability to manage a number of human beings.

As an administrative officer, I did nothing but that. I think I have had oh, well, as a Head-of-state the same thing, during the war the same. I have had some experience along this line. I personally keep my ears open to all manner of information that comes to me. But I only act, on information that I have personally checked.

Actually, you will find when you talk to some of my friends that this is one of the most frustrating aspects of friendship with me. Fr... a number of people come up to me thinking they are sufficiently intimate that once they have told me something I'd accept it. My instinct is to check.

Now, sycophancy...certainly, since I have become a member of the NPN, I am aware of a number of people coming around me to see whether they can throw the dice to my side. Of course, I listen, as usual, but I check back before taking action. Eni...sycophancy is a terrible disease of our society today and I'm sure that most leaders find sycophancy one of the biggest problems.

People refuse to see things that are true and try to tell you those things they imagine you would want to hear, that is sycophancy. I personally prefer the man who tells me the truth.

In my entourage, around me, there are always individuals that I would resent, even calling I Ikemba, because once they move to that stage, they cease to be objective friends. They became friends that are using me as ladders. My attitude is to maintain people, generally, who would tell me the truth.

And again, I find, for example, that the biggest help my wife gives me is a posture which is totally, diametrically opposed to sycophancy. She does not see me as anything but Emeka who wooed her and later proposed to her and married her. She would not change, and I value the last minutes of the day when she then tells me about certain performances. If you look also at my crest, you will find a motto on it: "To Thy Own Self Be True." I seek friends that will help me be true to myself.

Now, obviously today my position in the NPN is largely honorific-National Vice-Chairman. So I don't have as many sycophants as I had when I was head of Biafra. I don't have as many sycophants, perhaps as I had when I was Governor of the Eastern Region. Should I advance, I hope to God I do, I know there would be more sycophants, people who think they can make a career standing on my shoulders or being carried across different and difficult paths, on my back.

Question: Sir, this statement is very important and I'll like to use it to back track to during the war. There was this rumour that you are a very self-willed person and that you generally do not take advice and that this affected certain decisions in Biafra. This rumour is still being peddled and we'll like to hear from you, how, and knowing from the fact that you had this machinery of consultative assembly, during the war. Can one say from this standpoint that you just listen to people merely to sound them out knowing already the direction you are going?

If I may advance that question one step sir...em..there are also..em..this belief that you largely delegated a lot to the late Dr C. C. Mojekwu, to the extent that some people started feeling disenchanted and that the whole thing was almost becoming a family affair. I think, this might be an opportuned moment to put matters straight.

Answer: Honestly, I cannot judge myself. I haven't got that capacity. I do not think, actually, I am self-willed. And I remember during the war, many people, in fact blamed me for being too soft and listening to too many people.

No...(clears throat)...that I have a general idea where I'm going, yes. I think it's my function, actually, if I'm leading something I must have an idea, and I usually have. The point I'm trying to make is this, that should somebody convince me otherwise, I accept it. I have no qualms at all about accepting advice.

Again, I have come back, people are amazed because I keep an open door. In fact, the people who get tired are those waiting, not me. For as long as there is somebody waiting in my..em..aute-chamber or in my sitting room, I will be with them. I talk to everybody. I try to gather from them, their opinions.

Now, a number of people of course, try to peddle certain ideas about me. Perhaps, they believe it, but I suspect, actually, that the problem is one of giving a dog a bad name once you have decided to hang it.

A lot of people even on my return, were a bit nervous. They were very nervous because they knew what I knew of them. And they thought, of course, that my attitude would be anti them. I watch them taking positions and posturing. I would like and I keep looking for this--somebody who could, in fact, give an objective assessment with examples of wilfulness.

I want to make this point, that when I'm convinced about something, o gosh! I go ahead and I make my point as forcefully as I can. I am not unaware also that sycophants watching me in argument might misinterpret the force of my argument and then I withdraw, thinking I would not accommodate them... (laughs)...with a contrary view.

But actually, the fault is theirs not mine. When you sit with somebody, and this is the way I go, I permit anybody in front of me to say what they want and as forcefully as they can. I personally put my own case as forcefully as I can and then we try to balance out. But one thing is certain, I personally, once I'm convinced, irrespective of what position, I had taken, I have no qualms about changing.

Then, you talk about the late Dr. C.C. Mojekwu, my late uncle (pause)...I think he is one of the most misunderstood personalities of the crisis period. I think what has happened to him is the desire of a people to find a scape goat. In my position, I symbolised the people's resistance.

In a way I was sacrosanct and they looked behind me for somebody to hang--not the mistakes as such--but essentially their frustrations. I remember one conversation I had with Dr. C.C. Mojekwu when he was so upset by the degree of opprobrium that was heaped on him. And, he didn't know what to do, he talked to me about it and I said, Cee-cee, it's part of the struggle. I only appointed you a commissioner for internal affairs, but people rush to you with their problems, assuming that you were closest to me.

In those days when you passed by in a vehicle, people shouted, power-power. You were probably the only commissioner of mine that received that type of ovation. This is the time to pay the price, and, naturally, with one frustration, you have been selected and made a scapegoat. Try and understand our people, don't get so upset, understand and forgive. And I am glad he took that advice because right to his death, he did not seek to go into this whole business of self-justification, no.

He understood, he smiled and bore it with fortitude. Delegation to him during the war...no... in fact, if you're looking for somebody that received a lot of delegation... (pauses) and changes his mind..no, I suppose it's too early to start talking in details but certainly it wasn't Dr. C.C. Mojekwu. There were others that acted far more on my behalf than he ever did, in any case don't forget, he was mostly in Lisbon and only came in when I sent for him.

Question: In other words, Sir, what people said about him all through, the period, of maybe, civil war, especially with regard to fund and purchase of arms for Biafra were just fake...?

Answer: No, talking about funds and purchase of arms, the one thing I made absolutely certain of was that C. C. Mojekwu did not handle funds... what he did was indicate what was required because he had personal code with me. He was in Europe, I would pass on the message to him, he would give the instructions ... we had an officer in charge of funds. That officer is in Lagos, actually, he's a top accountant in Lagos, he handles funds. And in fact, what would happen is C.C. would point, the officer would pay. There was no question of his handling funds.

[3 Jul 83 [no page given]

[Text] Question: Sir (clears throat) if I may quote you, you said, about your return, a number of people were a bit nervous..now, er...when you returned, I carried a lead story on an interview with Dr. Okadigbo during which he told us and showed us certain documents regarding opposition, from certain quarters, to your return. Can you confirm this allegation?

Answer: I'm totally unaware of any documents that Dr. Okadigbo showed you. He certainly hasn't shown me any, but em... from newspaper reports, since I have returned, it is quite clear that some people resisted my return. Some people amongst the Igbos, some people, in other parts of Nigeria. And don't forget even Jesus Christ had some opposition, you know (laughter)....

Question: Sir, was it to your knowledge that certain people opposed your return... I mean, are you just conjecturing, or do you have reason to believe that people opposed you: (long pause with drawn and deliberate reply...)

Answer: I am absolutely certain that some people opposed my return....

Question: There must be a reason for this, can you let us into it?

Answer: (Long pause...) Don't you think it would be better to ask them their reason?

Question: Can you give us a clue, sir...to the people?

Answer: I would be irresponsible if I answered that. You know. But the fact you have to understand is that there are vested interests. People, for example, are in positions. They are rather worried about the future... what would happen. There are people who actually believed a lot of the war propaganda, who thought I was their natural enemy.

Naturally, both sides would resent my coming back. It's only natural. I don't need proof for this. I assume that some people would be.

Question: To the present, sir, em...(clears throat) You feel that you will deliver Anambra State to the NPN. Naturally, every party thinks it would do well in the election. What kind of mechanism have you worked out to deliver?

Answer: To start with, I think it's a bit wrong to say...I will deliver... I mean, when you're making statements in election campaigns, you say a number of things, but we're talking now objectively. The NPN will deliver Anambra State and Imo, there's no doubt in my mind. And em...if you have stayed with us a few days you would have seen the changes...Mechanism? Oh--no, it would be a bit premature to start talking. Whatever I say to you will be read by everybody and (chuckles) certainly I don't want the opposition to know our plans.

But take it from me (turns and asks the date)...today is the 6th? (response.. of June, sir)...(continues...) of June...(emphatically)... I say, without any equivocation, that the NPN will win... the gubernatorial, the senatorial, the House of Representatives and the State House of Assembly in the forthcoming elections, both in Anambra and Imo States.

Question: Sir, we backtrack into the past again, and er... in this regard I would like to talk about what General Madiebo said to the Satellite... (interrupts midway before the question is asked)...

Answer: No, no, no, no..., look, on the question of General Madiebo, I honestly don't think there's much to say. I have read a lot and what I find is that, normally, generals... generals, after a war, sing their victories. He is a unique one. He's the first general in history that sings his own defeat... (long pause)....

Question: That is unique, sir, isn't it? (laughter) Back again into the past, you are said by Mr. Forsythe, in his book, "Emeka" to have resisted the January '66 coup. Maybe, sir, you would like to talk about it, the reason behind your action. Was your motivation your love for one Nigeria? Why would you have resisted a coup like that?

Answer: I have always been (pause)... in favour of One Nigeria. I have always, also, I had, at that time, been aware of the difficulties. At the time things began to fall apart, I felt the only thing I could do was rather, not just to bemoan the fact, but to try my best to maintain what I considered the last bastion of nationalism, the army intact.

If you want to understand any activity during that period, just see it in my interest to ensure that the army did not split apart. That was all.

Question: And sir again, there are certain reforms that you brought to the army for which people blamed you, especially forces that transcend... the mere borders of Nigerian nation. I'm talking about reforms like changing the uniforms of the army, from wool to khaki, and you were blamed for this.

I know that people, when they have a mission that is genuine and they carry it out and they are blamed for it, they naturally feel bad. How did you feel being so patriotic to do such a thing and they blame you for it?

Answer: I'm not aware of so much blame actually. The fact is that em...at a certain stage, I felt that the army was too neocolonialist and I went ahead and did what I could, and the proof of the whole thing is that the army has continued along the same lines till today.

The Nigerian Army ceremonial uniform hasn't been thrown away because I was em... a vital member of the committee that set it up... er that designed it. obviously, it was useful. I don't think...I have never heard, in fact that people blamed me for changing the uniform. This is the first time I'm hearing it....

Question: I am not saying that they blamed you categorically, but if I understand what Mr. Forsythe wrote in his book, he said that you received certain opposition (I think?) from the British or the colonial master....

Answer: Oh, we're not talking in terms of uniforms...no, no, no, no, the uniforms I said, yes, they should, certainly...er... er...er...because we were developing, we had sufficient tailors to make uniforms in Nigeria, that's normal. Er...em...I didn't accept, just lock-stock-and-barrel, er...British vehicles and so on, let us hold er..em.. our own tests on our own terrain and choose the best for what we require.

Naturally, commercial interests were upset by this. But honestly, I don't care about that. What is important is that Nigeria got the best available at the time for the Nigerian army on Nigerian territory that's all. Er.. em... I don't expect to be applauded, and this is a thing with me. I don't look over my back, over my shoulders for applause for anything I'm convinced about. I go straight ahead.

If somebody has a better argument, bring it. I mean, why should we buy vehicles when there are better ones on the market more suited to our terrain? The others, for example, the British had to support their own industry. But we're purchasers. It's like today, perhaps, there are vehicles. If I were say, the Quarter-master-General of the Nigerian Army, automatically my intention would be to support all the vehicles that are assembled in Nigeria.

I would go for that and my attitude would be to better them and make them suit our purpose, because supporting our own industry, I think, is a major consideration for anything we do in this country.

Question: Now, again, sir, talking about personal feelings. Here you are, a man who has been head of state, your family background and all the rest which is history. And then you return from exile 13 years after you were exiled. And here is a young governor who was relatively, maybe...(don't know what he was during the war), but probably expecting that you pay him homage as governor, forgetting (one) the Igbo tradition of homage to elders, and then homage to the mind and other things that are attached to your personality. Did you feel slighted that the governor of Anambra State waited on you to come and....

Answer: No, it's not a question of being slighted no... Er, what I found, actually, was that he was naively trying to play politics with my return, and that I would not permit. As an Igbo man, somebody with certain roots in the Igbo nation, once I arrived unto Igbo soil, I want to my home, and indeed I informed him that I would go to Nnewi, pay homage at my father's grave and after that, I was available to him.

If he cared to invite me I would come. And all these things, you know, a lot of people imagine so many things. I came back as an ordinary citizen. And I wonder how many ordinary citizens, on arriving Enugu, go and pay homage to the governor. If the governor, himself, decided to honour me and make me something different from an ordinary citizen, then I would become obliged to go and pay respects or homage to him. But he didn't.

I came back quietly as a simple citizen. There are many students that come back from abroad almost daily. Do they go and pay homage to the governor? There are businessmen and professionals that come home almost daily, do they go...?

Question: Sir, but you paid homage to the President when you returned.

Answer: Let's get this straight, there's no comparison between the President of the Federation of my country and the governor of my state. There's no comparison at all.... And, when I arrived, I arrived in Lagos and er... the president had, in fact, granted me amnesty.

Question: So, in other words, your paying a visit to the President was just to thank him for the amnesty.

Answer: Yes.

Question: And not just because you were paying homage to him as a head of state....

Answer: No, no, no the only people, actually, who normally pay that sort of courtesy call are heads of state and...I wasn't. No, on a personal basis, I went to thank him for granting me amnesty.

Question: Em... this other one relates to the Ahiara Declaration, which I understand, was very popular then. In fact, after the war, people continued talking about it that it has...em... it's deeply rooted in socialism ..e.... socialist principles, and it was largely responsible for you know, Biafran officers not er...you know...pledging their loyalty because ...em.. they felt that kind of...em... declaration wasn't going to be in their own interest and ...em... I would like to know whether you had that kind of view, and then, advancing the question further, I would want to know if, upon your return to Nigeria, you were teleguided by the NPN to join the party as a result of having granted you amnesty. That is to say, having been a very strong

advocate of socialism, why was it necessary that you should have joined a party that was capitalist-oriented, and em...anyway, nobody expected you to join the UPN which was a tribal party, the NPP, which was equally regarded as an Igbo party em...some people probably thought you would have relaxed for some time and em...sometime in the future emerge with all the charisma you have exuded all along, and without mixing yourself up with the NPN. Do you think you were wrong...? You see I've asked so many questions in one.

Answer: During the war, we had tremendous difficulties and it occurred to me that material deprivation was beginning to affect morale. I decided to enunciate my own concept of what we were really fighting for. The result of that was the Ahiara Declaration (take away the propaganda first part of it), the main bulk of the Ahiara Declaration are my thoughts.

And these thoughts were based on a number of meetings I held regularly (what was fondly called by Kitchen Cabinet). These are people from all walks of life that I met every Thursday. They would arrive, and I would be just a floor member like everybody else and we would discuss points and synthesize them and try..analyse and synthesize and finally I came up with what I considered a concensus of aspirations of the people in this life or death struggle.

That army officers did not accept it, is news to me. I don't like to separate, I think we were fighting, at that time, a peoples' war and everybody (some er... supported, mostly, there must have been a few, and within the army, perhaps one or two who didn't, but they did not really come to the fore...no).

The Ahiara Declaration, a number of people have given socialistic connotation Em...I don't think it came out as such. I did not go out to be socialist in that declaration. No, what I did was to get a mass of ideas together and try to harmonise and evolve an ideology which would have sustaining effect to what we were engaged in. Yes, of it that er...could be termed socialistic. I personally feel actually that it is more welfarist than socialistic and I know a lot of things have been said about ideology in Nigeria.

I think our people are not quite clear what they're after, and how to get about it. I personally do not believe you can create a socialist ideology in a society that is not yet industrial. I don't think so. Er... the nearest to socialism, you would find in a rural type of society. We have to admit, Nigeria is essentially a rural.... It's a welfare society ... a welfare state, where the government helps and does more things.

Er...em, the Ahiara Declaration, even though I said, ... I still read it from time to time and I'm amazed, in fact, that the problems highlighted and the solutions advocated, to a large extent, apply today. I believe in a number of those things and, in fact, I am working on bringing the document up-to-date.

Now, about the parties in Nigeria, the problem is this: that we have not yet moved into politics of issues. We are still involved in personality politics. There is really no political party that is truly-issue orientated.

When issues are mentioned, they are purely cosmetic. They are essentially propaganda. But when you look deeper, you find that all political parties revolve around individual personalities, individual groups of persons, and so on.

I personally look forward to the time we can break this vicious circle and move into issue-orientated politics. But for the time being, no. They look at the NPN....

Question: Sorry to cut you sir, outside issues, don't you think that tribalism equally plays a very strong... is a very strong factor in the kind of politics... em...em..?

Answer: I'm glad you've raised this because in fact, I believe that the greatest obstacle to our progress, politically, is tribalism. I believe that it is a spectre of tribe that blocks us. We seem to be fixated on tribal politics. And this is why I look at the parties in Nigeria and I find that the most evenly spread... I look at the one that contains the greatest number of em... the various ethnic groups. I believe the answer is to strengthen that party so as to erode the walls of tribalism, because only by so eroding the walls of tribalism can we then be liberated into an issue-oriented type of politics, the sort that I am really looking for.

CSO: 3400/1657

NIGERIA

CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION OF PRESS FREEDOM HAILED

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 30 Jun 83 p 3

[Excerpts of speech by Dr. Babtunde Jose at the launching of NEWS OF THE FORGOTTEN ARMY by Tony Momoh, former editor of the DAILY TIMES: "The Politico-Press System"]

[Text] Five years ago, when the Constitution of the Second Republic of Nigeria was being debated in the Constituent Assembly, there were 13 daily and 11 Sunday newspapers printed and published in this country.

Today, that number has doubled. Every Sunday morning, I buy 10 newspapers, I thought that was a record until one Sunday afternoon in April, on a flight from Lagos to Kaduna, a fellow passenger was reading a tabloid paper whose title was strange to me. At my request, she handed it to me, in addition to four other Sunday papers printed and published in the Bendel State.

I have since found that "many things begin for change" and "many things you do not understand" with apologies to Adaora Ulasi, the veteran author and journalist.

Never mind the philosophy and objectives of these newspapers, may they live long after the 1983 elections--all of them published by state governments and individuals and groups aim at informing, educating and entertaining their readers, the sum total of which is to influence people's minds.

In pursuit of this aim, they swear by the hackneyed and overworked freedom of the press. This freedom or whatever is meant by it, varies from country to country, depending on their history and experience--from the rebellious but freedom loving founding fathers of the United States of America, to the oppressed peasants of Russia; to the islanders of Britain, to traditional and ex-colonial countries of Asia and Africa where imported 'isms' have failed to work.

Most of us, products of British style of journalism were taught that you are not a good journalist unless you are crusading attacking highly placed government functionaries, bringing down and running down governments. When we go to America, we are envious of their super press freedom. When we go to Russia,

we are not impressed by their seeming placidity. We would not honestly admit that relatively speaking, our press say many things which many others cannot say in many other countries without the editor being kept behind the bars without trial or the press shut forever.

As Tony Momoh says in the book we are launching today, "a system that knows of other systems more than its own operational base is dependent on those systems of which it has knowledge. It therefore sees freedom in the knowledge of those other systems."

I had the honour and privilege of being a member of the Constituent Assembly that made the 1979 Constitution of the second republic. I felt, at the time, that the provisions in the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy in respect of the obligations of the mass media were not enough. I therefore made attempts, without success, to entrench a clause specifically guaranteeing press freedom in the Constitution.

Looking at the Constitution today, I am not disappointed that we did not succeed in transferring a clause in the American Constitution into our own.

What Tony Momoh says in this book and what I am endorsing is that a country with a constitution which provides as follows:

Section 21: "The press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in this chapter and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government of the people."

Section 36: (1) "Every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference."

Section 36: (2) "Without prejudice to the generality of sub-section (1) of this section, every person shall be entitled to own, establish and operate any medium for the dissemination of information, ideas and opinions; provided that no person, other than the government of the federation or of a state or any other person or body authorised by the president, shall own, establish or operate a television or wireless broadcasting station for any purpose whatsoever," be said to be less than liberal to the media and its practitioners within the bounds of legal responsibility.

Freedom is relative, differing from one system to another; but there is no total freedom anywhere in any system of the world.

Again quoting Tony, "We chose the presidential system and it is inevitable that the press would have to mature into reflecting the system and questioning the

working of the system." And he added: "It ought to be clear to every practitioner that having been born into a system and taken on, in a division of labour situation, the role of holding those in government accountable for their actions, he (the journalist) should insist on the right to perform that duty rather than be pre-occupied with playing the sycophantic part of singing praises."

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Collins Gardener, Mobolaji Odunewu, Tony Enahoro, Yekinni Tinubu, Ebun Adesioye, Abubakar Imam, Abiodun Aloba, Lateef Jakande, Bisi Onabanjo, Olu Adebajo, Herbert Unegbu and Theresa Bowyer, forgive me, I cannot mention them all, members of the forgotten army why by sheer courage, operated in an impossible system--made names in the history of the Nigerian press.

Thanks for the opportunity provided by the DAILY TIMES, NEW NIGERIAN and the NIGERIAN TRIBUNE; Laban Nanme, Gogo Jaja, Peter Enahoro, Alade Odunewu, Olu Onagoruwa, Henry Odukomaya, Areoye, Oyebola, Segun Osoba, Gbolabo Ogunsanwo, San Amuka, Effiong Essien, David Attah, Haron Adamu, Adamu Ciroma, Mamman Daura, Turi Muhammad, Labanji Bolaji, Ayo Ojewumni, Doyin Aboaba, and the erudite author of this book, Tony Momoh, in the face of obnoxious laws, without the protection of the Constitution as it is today, published crusading, hard hitting news and comments.

#### Untenable

Under our system the (1979 Constitution) we are operating a mixed economy. Government and private persons are free to trade, including the ownership of newspapers, except radio and TV which are exclusive to government. It is therefore doubtful to me, if the argument against government ownership of newspaper is any longer tenable.

What is untenable is the obvious spinelessness in news presentation, editorials, and commentaries in most newspapers, radio and televisions, all amounting to insulting the intelligence of readers, listeners and viewers.

It is in honour of the un-named members of the forgotten army who wielded their feather pens with courage and integrity and as a challenge to the new army of journalists, who waive their golden pens, that I commend News of the Forgotten Army by Tony Momoh, who by his professionalism, courage and integrity has made useful contribution to the training of journalists in Nigeria.

CSO: 3400/1657

NIGERIA

NATION'S EFFORTS TO BRIDGE TECHNOLOGICAL GAP DISCUSSED

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 27 Jun, 4 Jul 83

[Two part article by O.P.I. Ironkwe: "Foundations for Nigeria's Technological Development"]

[27 Jun 83 p 14]

[Text] Nigeria is an ambitious country, trying to bridge the technology gap between her and the technologically advanced nations. This ambition is boldly expressed in our national policy on education, as contained in the 4th National Development Plan.

An off-spring of this policy on education has been the emergence within the last three years of universities of science and technology run by both Federal and State Governments and even private organisations.

In a sense, this is good. It is a strong indicator that the national consciousness of the importance of science and technology to the economy is on the increase. In another sense, it could be disastrous; for the raw materials; science and mathematics teachers and laboratories needed to produce students for these universities are often inadequate and sometimes totally missing.

The basic sciences, physics, chemistry and biology, constitute one of the major foundations for Nigeria's technological development. A consensus observation by Nigerian educators today is that there is an alarming decline in the study of mathematics and the basic sciences, as reflected in both the number of candidates offering them in school certificate examinations and the actual number that pass them.

The former Federal Minister of Science and Technology, Dr. Wahab Dosunmu, did confirm this trend. This decline in the study of the basic sciences is a national crisis that deserves very serious long-term remedies. A few bodies are trying to tackle the problem.

Recently, the university of Nigeria's physics department sponsored a seminar to discuss the issue. The Nigeria Educational Research Council, NERC, last

August, initiated a pilot programme...the National Science and Mathematics Project...to train science and mathematics teachers.

This project will involve a total of 906 pilot primary schools from each local government area in the Federation.

Recognising that teachers are the foundation stone for the implementation of any educational policy, the project calls for the training in six zones, of 10 teacher-trainers and 3 science and mathematics inspectors from each of the present 19 states.

These teacher-trainer seminars are to be followed by pilot school teacher training programmes. At the completion of these one week seminars, the teachers are supposed to be ready to effectively use "the basic science kits and mathematics teaching aids" for the pilot schools.

The NERC, in its philosophy and its implementation, aimed at providing "a complete and effective curriculum for a sound scientific and technological foundation at the primary school level."

The efforts of the NERC are praiseworthy. However, it is like a drop in an ocean, insignificant when isolated. The NERC philosophy and plan could become an effective drop as in a titration experiment, if transplanted and incorporated in the educational philosophy and practice of Nigerian teacher training colleges.

According to the Nigerian Union of Teachers, NUT, there are over half a million teachers in the nation. Teachers constitute the largest single block of any professional. At present, there are over 300 teacher training colleges with total enrollments of over 350,000 students.

Thus, teachers and the teacher training colleges offer the highest potential for accelerating the technological development of this nation if their education is restructured to emphasize mathematics and the basic sciences.

In other words, mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology should become a part of the training of all teachers if we are going to achieve the rapid development in science and technology reflected by the establishment of so many science and technology universities.

#### Motivating Teachers

Having discussed the necessity to train teachers in the basic sciences as one of the foundations for a long-term technological development, it is necessary to review the problems that reduce the effectiveness of the Nigerian teachers.

The morale of teachers in many states is very low due to irregularities and sometimes many months of non-payment of teachers' salaries. This has led to teachers working part-time or going on strike. The long-term effect is that students do not complete successfully their curricula and WASC exams.

The financial neglect of teachers and the lack of adequate social recognition for teachers by the government has long-term negative repercussions on the nation's technological development. Many have wisely suggested that a proportionate number of annual national awards should go to teachers, and in particular, science and mathematics teachers.

A yardstick for selecting these teachers for national recognition could be the performance of their students in both national and state science and mathematics fairs as well as WASC results.

The lack of science laboratories for physics, chemistry and biology in many Nigerian schools and universities has reduced science to mere textbook cramming and taken away the joy of experimentation and discovery-learning. Science without a laboratory, is like eating food without salt or watching TV with only the sound on.

As much as it may not be financially feasible to adequately equip all schools with modern science equipments, the state and federal governments could devise a plan for either equipment rotation between schools or a few well equipped, well staffed centrally located schools to which students from other schools could be rotated to fully participate in science practicals.

#### Sociocultural Motivation

Even with good teachers and good laboratories, it may still be difficult to get enough students to take physics, chemistry and engineering courses. An often overlooked factor is sociocultural motivation. Sociocultural motivation or the approval/disapproval of the society is a very strong force in any society.

It can be harnessed to integrate the basic sciences into our cultural thinking and way of life. To the average Nigerian, science and technology is still foreign culture, desirable as a finished product, but not necessarily as a product of his own thinking creativity and invention. Why would you want to study so "hard" courses as physics, mathematics and chemistry, when you can comfortably sail through life and make more money by studying the "easy" courses?

The materialistic tendencies of our society tend to encourage this mentality. Thus our society and culture do not really encourage one to be a scientist or engineer as readily as it encourages one to become an attorney or businessman.

If we are to advance in science and technology like the U.S., U.K., Japan and the Soviet Union, this mentality must be radically changed. We can achieve this mental and cultural re-orientation towards science and technology through science and mathematics clubs, a science-oriented news-media, integrating science faires into village and community cultural activities of importance and through national recognition for outstanding science students.

To achieve this new science-orientated society and its long-term economic benefits to the nation will involve the support of not only the government, but also the cooperation of businesses and industries, socio-business clubs, the news-media and universities on a planned large scale than presently exists.

Science and Mathematics Clubs (SAM) should become an integral part of our educational system and school culture. This means that every primary and secondary school in the country should have one.

The SAM clubs should be recognized and supported by the state and local government educational boards. It should consist of the best students in mathematics and general science in all the classes. The students who qualify to be members should be offered books and equipment for encouragements.

Every term, each local government area should organize a mathematics competition and a science faire. Students doing well in these competitions should be congratulated by the local chiefs and given prominence in local festivities. This way, the significance of the sciences is culturally integrated and not just seen as an academic exercise.

Annually, each state should organise science-mathematics faires and adequate recognition given to students who participate in these faires. The recognition should include full scholarships, publications of student projects in the newspapers, TV interviews and meeting with the state education commissioner and governor.

An organisational plan with possible projects for these science clubs, has been designed by this author.

The news-media: newspapers, radio and TV are very powerful organs for mass-communication. Unfortunately, in many developing countries like Nigeria, their full potential as organs for effective mass science and technology literacy has not yet been realised.

With inadequate teachers in the sciences, this nation should start experimenting by using the news-media for instruction in physics and the other sciences at the primary and secondary school levels. A generation growing up with this mode of educational technology will be better adapted to the open university system.

The social-business clubs such as the chambers of commerce and rotary clubs have traditionally been public-spirited in philosophy and practice, and usually have memberships from the enlightening top of the society. They should have science and technology committees to sponsor science faires and donate science and mathematics books and equipment to schools.

Manufacturing industries and businesses also have a role to play. The products of our educational system eventually end up serving them. Is it not fair they encourage the continued production of this manpower "raw-material" through the award of scholarships to universities and polytechnics?

[4 Jul 83 p 14]

[Text] In part 1 of this paper (BUSINESS TIMES Monday, June 27, 1983 p 14) the author surveyed some of the foundations for Nigeria's technological development: the basic sciences, trained and motivated science teachers, better laboratories, socio-cultural motivation, the roles of science and mathematics clubs, the newsmedia and the private and public sectors in advancing science and technology in Nigeria.

In this paper, we shall focus on Student Research: the role science and engineering students can play in Nigeria's technological development. While reflecting on this subject, my attention was drawn to a paper titled: "Constraints to Research in Nigeria" by Dayo Alao (TIMES International, Monday June 20, 1983 page 9). A portion of the paper relevant to our topic is worth quoting: "There have been reports of inventions by school pupils and university students, which could have attracted the attention of a similar ministry in countries like Britain and America, but, it is sad to observe that here in Nigeria, these potential inventors are not only discouraged, but their work discredited.

About two academic sessions ago, an engineering student of the University of Ife invented an automobile engine of longer duration than ones currently in use. Enthusiastically, he sold his ideas to both his lecturers and some topmen of the ministry of science and technology. Instead of getting a pat on the back, he got a rebuff, and his brilliant idea was destroyed. But this is not the end of the story. A Japanese automobile manufacturing company stole the idea from a journal that reported the discovery of the student, and made a good use of it in building an automobile engine that would likely be in market early next year."

If the above story is true, then it is a very serious indictment of the way science and engineering research and development is conducted at the grass-roots, in this country. Another writer, I.B. Buhari, in an open letter to Prof. Mobisson, Inventor of Asutech Computers (BUSINESS TIMES, Monday June 27, 1983 page 7), expressed a similar view. In offering his congratulations and advice, he had this noteworthy comment among others:

"Prof., this country has witnessed many inventors, from radio transmission station composing of components made of local herbs to not only aeroplane but also solar powered cars. They all came to nought, because these inventors made one simple mistake. They appealed to governments for help. No government (State or Federal) gives that kind of help in this country..."

#### Scientific Research

I may add that Prof. Oliver Mobisson has yet to find the required money (3.3 million naira) for a successful commercialization of the Asutech Computers. Dayo Alao's assertion that scientific research by students is highly encouraged in the U.S. and Britain is borne out by a recent event: the launching

of the Challenger spacecraft. In addition to other functions the spacecraft carried on a lot of experiments aboard, according to TIME (June 27, 1983 p 27) magazine.

"Some of the most imaginative experiments bear a youthful stamp. Caltech students are growing radishes. West German students sent along five tests, ranging from studies of plant behaviour to the activities of chemical catalysts. And from inner-city high school students in Camden, N. J. there is a colony of carpenter ants, presumably tightly sealed, whose weightless antics will be carefully filmed."

The encouragement of scientific research in students through annual local and science fairs is also one of the open secrets of America's technological superiority. Many of the United States scientists, engineers and Nobel Prize laureates are known to have been active participants in science fairs in their youth.

#### Research Support in Nigeria

How is research supported in Nigeria? Is student research efforts really supported? Let's look at the facts and figures. Most of the infrastructures for student research in Nigeria is almost nonexistent. It is true that there are science clubs and fairs in Nigeria. However, the way they are currently conducted and organised leaves much to be desired. The creation of the Ministry of Science and Technology in 1979 from the former National Science and Technology Agency is a very important milestone in the scientific progress of this country.

The Ministry of Science and Technology, according to the 4th National Development Plan, is responsible for the promotion of science and technology research. The National Development Plan allocated 543.5 million naira to twenty-six major research institutes in the country, believed to contribute to the nation's long-term development. Unfortunately at the time of the planning, no one thought student research to be worth recognising as a potential long-term contributor to the technological development of Nigeria. Thus there is no budget for student research and development in the 4th National Development Plan. Maybe that explains the lack of financial support many young scientists, inventors and engineers have had to suffer. Let us hope that this error will be rectified in the very near future and that the 5th National Development Plan will include student research in the budget of "Research Institutes." We must not through negligence allow the minds of our creative young scientists to wither away. Thomas Alva Edison, the great American inventor, is said to have defined genius as one percent inspiration and ninety-nine percent perspiration. Definite government recognition and financial support for student research constitute the one percent inspiration required to catalyse out young geniuses.

#### Research in Nigeria

Let us assume that the Federal Government recognises the importance of student research to our long term national development, and decides to elevate it to the same status as any of the existing research institutes. Let's call it, say

the Student Research Commission (SRC) and maybe make it a special division of the Ministry of Science and Technology. Let us further assume that it is well-funded--on a starting four-year budget of twenty million naira (about the average for the existing 26 research institutes). How should it be organised and what should the SRC achieve within four years on the above budget?

The SRC should be headed by a scientist and should be made up of a team drawn from the Science and Mathematics Teachers' Association of Nigeria, and the Science Association of Nigeria. Also there should be student representatives from each of the polytechnics, Advanced Teacher Training Colleges and Universities. In addition, at least one secondary and one primary school science student from each state will complete the cross-sectional representation of the interests concerning in setting up the SRC.

The major goal of the SRC should be to encourage and fund student research efforts at all levels as a foundation for Nigeria's long term technological development. In pursuance of such a policy, the SRC will need to consider the following guidelines. 1) Establish a student science association of Nigeria. 2) Institute a National Young Scientists Programme (NYSP), 3) Set guidelines for organising and running science and mathematics clubs at all educational levels. 4) Publish a National Journal of Student Researches, ideas and activities in Science and Technology. 5) Establish student research centres in all the states. 6) Promote through the public news-media the activities of the SRC. 7) Provide definite grants for student research.

#### Implementing the Guidelines

The implementation of these seven guidelines will require the cooperation of the Ministries of Education in the states and also the educational authorities in the institutions concerned. Let us examine the guidelines a bit.

##### Guideline 1

Membership should be opened to excellent science and engineering students at all levels of our educational system. Here students will present papers on their researches and discuss science and technology as it relates to our national development.

##### Guideline 2

Every long vacation, selected students in Science and Engineering should be funded to participate in research and development at our research institutes, or designated industries.

They should publish the results of their efforts and how they relate to our national technological development.

Guideline 3:

The SRC should draw up guidelines for organising and running Science and Mathematics Club in the country. In addition, the SRC should fund a model science and mathematics club in each state. Guidelines should also be drawn, with lists of possible projects, for science fairs.

Guideline 4:

The communication of scientific progress and information is a very strong stimulus to more progress. A national students' science journal dedicated to reporting students' researches, ideas and activities in science and engineering may soon become an index of our future technological advancement. In addition, such a well-circulated journal will increase the general awareness and cultural consciousness of science and technology among our youth.

Guideline 5:

What do our science students do when they have brilliant ideas but no money to experiment? A very well-equipped student research laboratory and science library in each state should be established and made accessible to young scientists. If we are going to make the type of progress we envisage, we must prepare a fertile soil for our brilliant minds to grow.

Guideline 6:

The students and public have got to know of the existence of the SRC and its activities.

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CABINET TO REFLECT GEOGRAPHIC, CULTURAL DIVERSITY SAYS OKADIGBO

Lagos SUNDAY TIMES in English 3 Jul 83 p 5

[Article by Andy Akporugo: "Victory Quotients and All That"]

[Text] When PAPA Chuba Okadigbo indicated through this newspaper three weeks ago, that President Shehu Shagari's list of ministers, if he wins the upcoming elections, will be based on merit, I noted with interest the promptness with which a sideliner recognised the implied admission of some untidiness in the present cabinet.

By the way, may I hasten to explain that I have not suddenly been seized by the mischievous bug, in what may seem an attempt here to impose on this young fellow (never mind his strong bout of greyness) premature agedness. I merely discovered recently that he as well as Alhaji Suleiman Takuma, has earned by not-so-surreptitious official titular abbreviation, a chance equivalent of the grand reference which the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) thought was reserved for its leader, (PAPA in State House parlance is simply Presidential Adviser, Political Affairs). Very well; Dr. Okadigbo told us in that report, that there would be a shift of emphasis in the criteria for appointments—perhaps from just how rotund a man's belly was, to how less stupid he was generally inclined to be.

Specifically, he said serious account would be taken of contributions to what he called the president's Victory Quotient. Of course, the President is obligated by the constitution to reflect the geographic and cultural variations of the country in his executive outfit.

This may sometimes be misunderstood to be random aggregation in which the individual's competence does not have to count for very much.

But what the PAPA has suggested, is that the President would have to be personally satisfied that those to serve with him should have effectively helped him to win, in addition to possessing the potential to accord his administration necessary resourcefulness.

Speaking about the same time in the Rivers State capital, a top member of the NPN, Dr. Ibrahim Tahir, was recommending the same Victory Quotient though more

globally, as an important factor to determine what southern area produces the presidential candidate in 1987.

#### Representation

He reportedly told an NTA Port Harcourt interviewing panel, that he identified largely with the views of Chief Melford Okilo, that area-participation in the commanding heights of the party, should be a function of actually--subscribed support, subject only to the broad zoning principle.

Chief Okilo had argued very vigorously at the 1980 NPN Kano convention that state representations at such gatherings should reflect proportionate strengths based on results of the past general elections.

Dr. Tahir believed, for example, that it is not enough to talk of what zone gets the next ticket without laying ground rules to take account of the competing interests of sub-systems within that zone.

He said he hoped to develop the thesis for major consideration by the party, in due course. In the meantime, the PUNCH of Thursday, June 30, reported Dr. Okadigbo as saying that "Yoruba leaders within the NPN currently gunning for the party's presidential ticket in 1987" were day-dreaming, because there had never been an agreement to the effect that the ticket would automatically go to the Yorubas, otherwise known as Zone B.

#### Acceptability

A candidate to be chosen in '87, he said, would first be generally acceptable to the "entire people of the country" and then bear a credible electoral potential. He also gave as a possible extenuating factor, what he termed the "geographical calculations which permit the combinations of two zones to produce a candidate."

His wish, however, was that the "next presidential candidate of the NPN should come from the East."

There is probably some merit in the party not making its position on zoning very explicit. A need often exists in these matters to deliberately create avenues for exigency and pragmatic re-appraisals, provided that these are not confused with excuses for wanton breach of faith or blatant disregard for order.

One thing that appears certain now, in spite of the maverick passions of Alhaji Maitama Sule, is that the South should have the chance after Shagari. All of this is based on the reasonable assumption, given the circumstances of our politics, that the NPN will not relinquish the presidency just yet.

What Dr. Okadigbo did not say to the PUNCH, but which he had stressed to me several times in the recent past, is that he thinks that zonal performance in the South, for '83' should decide between the Ibos and Yorubas for '87.

Many Ibo leaders including Dr. Okadigbo have, accordingly, been putting in every effort for massive conversion of their homesteads. And I hear that one reason why all may not be exactly well between the Vice-President, Dr. Alex Ekwueme and Chief Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu is that any significant switch in Iboland in '83, will be more readily attributable to the Ikemba of Nnwei and possibly Dr. Michael Okpara, than to the VP who didn't have much to show for his card in 1979. 'One of the things which that could mean, is that even if Ojukwu does not offer himself as candidate in 1987, he would be in a position to block Dr. Ekwueme if he had any reason, so to do. Unfortunately the calculations have so far not seemed to give sufficient weight to the aspirations of the minority elements of Cross Rivers and Bendel States, who have constituted themselves into a distinct zone.

There is plenty of sense in predicting that in the event of a rift between Zones B and C, a minority compromise may arise. But I even suspect that there are many minorities who will insist that 1987 is properly their turn.

#### Revolution

If they get the support of the North, as is most likely to be convenient, then the whole Ibo-Yoruba battle would appear to have started too soon. Anyhow, as Dr. Okadigbo will very well appreciate, it's a long way to 1987. For instance some people believe strongly that a revolution in the NPN is possible around 1985. Who knows!

[ 'Many Ibo leaders including Dr. Okadigbo have, accordingly, been putting in every effort for massive conversion of their homesteads. And I hear that one reason why all may not be exactly well between the Vice-President, Dr. Alex Ekwueme and Chief Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu is that any significant switch in Iboland in '83, will be more readily attributable to the Ikemba of Nnewi and possibly Dr. Michael Okpara, than to the VP who didn't have much to show for his card in 1979.' ]

CSO: 3400/1657

NIGERIA

'GREEN REVOLUTION' CALLED 'COLOSSAL FAILURE'

Enugu DAILY STAR in English 2 Jul 83 p 9

[Article by Joe Akpeh]

[Text] The UPN candidate for the Onitsha senatorial zone, Dr Nzemeka Andrew Oduah, has described the Federal Government's "Green Revolution" programme as a colossal failure which had in no small measure helped in sapping the country of its foreign reserve.

Dr Oduah who is the proprietor of Trinity Specialist Hospital, Akili-Ozivor in Ogbahu Local Government Area of Anambra State, was campaigning for his party when he attacked the policy, describing it as "a white-elephant" project.

He talked of the millions of naira said to be wasted in the importation of tonnes of fertilizer, an exercise which he said was either never carried out at all, or never got to the farmers for whom they were meant.

Dr Oduah then assured the people of Onitsha senatorial zone that if voted into power, the progressives would never allow their vast arable land to lie waste, while millions of Nigerians languished in hunger and abject poverty.

He appealed to the electorate to give the progressive a chance at the centre this time, so that they would be better placed in 1987, to judge their performance with that of the present "reactionary forces, specialists in squandermania and planlessness," whose lack of foresight, he said has plunged the nation into austerity measures.

Dr Oduah pointed out that the progressives would insist on more money for the local government councils which are the grassroot governments that deal directly with the masses. They would also ensure that money meant for the production of more food, got to the actual farmers' in the villages.

Raising of the standard of life in the rural areas, he said could never be achieved unless a definite attempt was made to provide industrial and economically-oriented infra-structural facilities such as good roads, water and electricity upon which agro-based cottage industries could grow.

CSO: 3400/1657

NIGERIA

LABOR CONGRESS ISSUES ULTIMATUM FOR 31 JULY

Lagos SUNDAY TIMES in English 3 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Tony Masha]

[Text] Employers of labour who failed to settle arrears of salaries and wages owed to Nigerian workers might be in for some rough deal.

In a communique issued at the weekend after its two-day meeting, the National Executive Council of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) urged federal and state governments and their parastatals to "pay all the outstanding arrears of salaries and allowances to workers or face a showdown.

"If by July 31, the outstanding arrears of wages salaries and allowances were not settled, then the Nigerian Labour Congress should not be held responsible for the inevitable consequences," the communique noted.

The Congress appealed to workers intending to embark on strike to back up their demands for settlement of salaries to postpone it until July 31.

The communique signed by the Congress president, Alhaji Hassan Sunmonu and the acting general secretary, Dr. Lasisi Osunde, claimed that non-payment of wages and salaries was "a gross violation of the rights of the workers, and contravention of both the Nigerian Constitution and the ILO Conventions.

It, therefore, called on President Shehu Shagari to summon an urgent meeting of the National Economic Council "to resolve this matter once and for all."

The congress also called on the National Assembly to enact a bill which will make the national minimum wage equal to national minimum pension.

The national minimum wage is N125.00 per month, while the national minimum pension is N50.00 per month.

The communique also "affirmed the May Day directive of the Congress, calling on all workers and their families to vote for only pro-labour politicians in all the political parties."

The meeting also unanimously approved the application of Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), as the forty four affiliation of the NLC.

CSO: 3400/1657

## NYSC GRADUATES FACE LACK OF JOBS

Lagos SUNDAY TIMES in English 3 Jul 83 p 24

[Article by Soga Odubona]

[Text] As the current National Youth Service year comes to conclusion on Tuesday, there are stark indications that jobs will not be many for fresh graduates to pick up.

A high percentage of a cross-section of graduates interviewed in Ilorin and Lagos where jobs are most extant, expressed pessimism about getting job.

Only an average of 2 to 3, out of every 10 respondents interviewed, indicated that they have a hope of securing or have already got employments.

Many of the graduates claimed that they started the search for jobs as far back as January, this year, having considered the current economic measures.

The SUNDAY TIMES investigation also revealed that many graduates who served during the 1981/82 service year, have not been settled in spite of the Job Placement Unit set up by the National Youth Service headquarters, to help fresh graduates secure employment after service.

The investigation also revealed that many graduates interviewed and employed since last year by the Lagos State Schools Management Board (SMB), are yet to resume teaching jobs with the State Ministry of Education, because of the current austerity.

Conspicuously posted on the entrance of the SMB section at the old secretariat, Ikeja GRA, is a notice, about eight months old, which says that the embargo on employment of teachers has not been lifted.

The SUNDAY TIMES, however, gathered that a few persons have been appointed on pressures from powerful people within and without the ministry.

A senior official of the ministry suggested that "it is not likely the board appoints more teachers for now."

The survey, however, unearthed a few beams of hope. Some Federal and states ministries and parastatals have already indicated intention to provide job opportunities for the fresh graduates after service. "Many companies have already indicated that corps members who performed creditably well will be absorbed," a source at the NYSC headquarters revealed.

The Assistant Director, (Inspectorate) at the NYSC headquarters, Mr. L.D.O. Ezechukwu, confirmed that his department's Job Placement Unit has made concrete efforts and arrangements to fix corps members that applied to it for job.

He, however, advised that corps members seek for employment in the northern states where there are considerably more vacancies.

CSO: 3400/1657

## NATION JOINS WORLD FRUIT JUICE TRADE

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 4 Jul 83 p 24

[Article by Arnold Agbocy]

[Text]

**W**ITH the development of Vegfru's Mango and tomatoe canned juices, Nigeria has effectively joined the booming world fruit juice trade hitherto dominated by Brazil.

According to a study carried out last year by the International Trade Centre ITC/UNCTAD/GATT on 23 industrialised and developing countries, the world juice trade had hit a ceiling of US \$2,000 million or nearly 1.7 million tons between 1977 and 1981.

The volume traded rose by 30 per cent over the five years surveyed while value grew by approximately 80 per cent and the survey report adds that it is estimated that juices in the fruit category accounted for 90 per

cent of the 1981 figures. Nigeria's two juice products fall in this

By ARNOLD AGBOCY

category and as at last year, Vegfru — the manufacturing company had made an export break through with sales to the United Republic of Cameroun, Benin, Togo and other member countries in the ECOWAS region.

A new market drive has already begun with the carrying of these same products from Africa Trade Display by members of the Federal Government's parastatals responsible for promoting foreign trade, the Nigerian Export Promotion Council.

According to the official who participated

at the fair Mr. B. N. Itegbe, Nigeria's canned fruit juices attracted much attention at the fair and a number of serious enquiries were received.

Nigeria is a tropical country and could easily become a major supplier of fruit juices like Ivory Coast, Argentina, Greece, the Philippines, Mexico and Thailand.

In the area of Mango pulp/juice Nigeria stands a good chance of improving and increasing her market performance as the ITC survey mentions only Morocco and Ivory Coast from Africa, the rest being Haiti, Peru, India, Brazil, Mexico, Belize and Taiwan.

The survey adds that developing countries already supply about half of the world's total fruit juice imports and from all indication, such as Nigeria's entry into the export of that

commodity and developing technology, they will be able to expand their sales for several reasons.

One of the reasons advanced is the expected increased overall per capita intake of fruit juices.

Others are market growth and expansion, growing health consciousness of consumers and more aggressive marketing strategies.

Fruit juice sales reported in the survey indicate that within the period covered in the survey 1977-81 Brazil was the world's largest exporter increasing from \$181 million in 1977 to almost \$700 million or 35 per cent of total supply in 1981.

Israel was the second largest supplier among developing countries after Brazil, exporting about \$115 million roughly 6 per cent of the world total in 1981.

CSO: 3400/1657

GOVERNMENT URGED TO USE NYSC ON FARMS

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 5 Jul 83 p 2

[Text] The Federal Government has been urged to divert a certain percentage of the future members of the National Youth Service Corps, approximately 50 per cent to farmlands in the country.

Urging the government was the chairman of the Ibadan Chamber of Commerce, Chief Abiodun Olunloyo, who said he was stating the view of the chambers at the 10th anniversary of the scheme held recently at the Trenchard Hall, University of Ibadan.

According to Chief Olunloyo, the chamber was calling for the diversion of 50 per cent of the corp members to the farmland because they could meaningfully contribute more to the green revolution programme embarked upon by the Federal Government.

He disclosed that another reason that motivated the chamber to consider farmlands to benefit of future corpers was that membership of the scheme was expected to rise above 40,000 in the coming corp year.

Chief Olunloyo highlighting the success of the scheme since it was launched some ten years ago, noted that it has continued not only to bring better understanding among our different group but it has also provided a training ground for future leaders.

He stated that the scheme has been of invaluable help to the private sector all over the country, adding that in areas where it would have been difficult to get staff, they readily occupied such areas, he added.

The vice-chancellor of the University of Ibadan, Professor Olajuwon Olayide, represented by his deputy professor Ayo Banjo, said that the scheme has fostered "national consciousness in Nigeria youths, developing national unity and integration."

Professor Olayide stressed also that the scheme has become part of the Nigerian socio-cultural and political establishment, in building the youths to new ideas and ideals with new views and concept of life in the country.

CSO: 3400/1657

## NEPA FORECASTS ENERGY DEMAND RISE BY 1990

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 4 Jul 83 p 24

[Article by Chima Nwaflo]

[Text] **T**HE National Electricity (NEPA), according to a report by its Systems Planning department, puts total available (energy) demand for 1983 at 12,975 GWH, 14,772 for 1974 and is expected to rise to 30,416 Gwh and 35,259gwh for 1989 and 1990 respectively.

These figures show some deficit when compared with the total available energy for the same period which is given as; 8,840 for 1983, 10,555gwh for 1984, rising to 25,275gwh for 1989 and 28,203 for 1990.

The shortfall according to the report is equally provided for in the plan.

These forecasts were based on both the existing power stations and others in the pipeline whose completion the Authority anticipates within the projected period.

The report gave a breakdown of the total available grid capacity in mega watts as follows: Kainji (hydro) 640mw, Ijora (gas) 40mw, Sapele (steam) 580mw, Sapele addition (steam) 116mw, Sapele (gas) 210mw, Afam iii (gas) 82mw Afam i & ii (gas) currently 78mw, this will drop to 60mw from 1984 to 1990, Afam iv (gas) 350mw, Afam v (gas) 210mw — 1984.

Others are: Delta i & ii (gas) 100mw, Delta iii (gas) 100mw, Delta iv (gas) 100—400—500mw (1984-1990), Shiroro (hydro) 450mw, Jebba(hydro) 450mw, Lagos (steam) 220mw, from 1985 to 1,100mw by the year 1990, Oji River (steam) 60mw — 1988, Onitsha steam) 900mw 1990, Zungeru (hydro) 150mw — 1990, Makurdi (hydro) 177mw — 1990, and Mambilla (hydro) 250mw.

All combined and if fully realised, according to the report, will provide the nation with

expressed dissatisfaction with the mode of development in the country whereby it is either ignored or informed when projects are nearing completion.

UZO UWANI OIL RESERVE TO BE EXPLOITED

Enugu DAILY STAR in English 4 Jul 83 p 9

[Article by Emma Ikwueze]

[Text] The governor of Anambra State, Chief Jim Nwobodo has assured the people of Uzo Uwani of Anambra State that the NPP-controlled government, come October, will start an immediate exploitation of the rich oil reserve in the area.

The governor made the promise at Omor in his address to thousands of people during his campaign tour of parts of Uzo Uwani and Igbo--Ada Local Government Areas.

Chief Nwobodo frowned at the failure of the federal government to start exploitation of oil the area even though it had one of the richest reserves in the country.

He recalled that before the Nigerian civil war, some expatriate oil companies had begun work on the oil site and wondered why the federal government had not deemed it fit to reactivate the oil industry as a means of developing the area.

The governor further said that the exploitation of the oil in the area would enhance the economy of the state and of Nsukka, in particular.

He, therefore, said that one of the first priorities of an NPP federal government would be the exploitation of Uzo Uwani oil reserves, to improve the socio-economic state of the people.

Earlier, the governor had given his word that he would initiate necessary legislative process to create an Anyamelum local government area after the election in keeping with the requests of the people and charged the people to vote in the area's candidate for the state assembly to further facilitate the creation of the local government.

On the defection of Mr Maximus Ukuta, former commissioner in the state government to the NPN, Governor Nwobodo told the people that he appointed Mr Ukuta not for his personal sake but for the sake of the entire Uzo Uwani people and regretted that the former commissioner resigned his portfolio without any reference to his people.

On the proposed building of a flour mill at Iga in Uzo Uwani, Chief Mwobodo told the people at Umulokpa that contrary to the lies peddled by his political opponents, the shifting of the location of the industry to Emene was at the express advice of the foreign experts who did the feasibility study of the industry.

CSO: 3400/1657

STATE NATURAL GAS INDUSTRY EXAMINED

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 27 Jun, 4 Jul 83

[Two-part article by Enyina Iroha: "Nigeria's Gas Industry Today"]

[27 Jun 83 p 7]

[Text] It is estimated that Nigeria's reserve of natural gas stands at about 200 trillion cubic feet, and if estimates based on sedimentary and geological speculations are added, the reserve could be put at about 300 trillion cubic metres.

This is very vital today in view of plummeting crude petroleum prices and the global oil glut. The current economic misfortune of a nation like Nigeria which impudently got herself into a situation of depending on one wasting resource--crude petroleum--as sole foreign exchange earner, could have been contained if efforts were made in the oil boom period to exploit other available natural resources especially natural gas which is a by-product of the exploration and exploitation of crude petroleum.

A close examination and understanding of natural gas exploitation in Nigeria shows how much in Naira and Kobo Nigeria has been losing by neglecting to exploit the resource.

Nigeria's level of gas production depends on the quantity of crude petroleum produced. At the peak of Nigeria's oil boom we were producing 2.3 million barrels of crude oil daily. The associated gas produced about 3.5 billion c.f.d. and gas industry sources say about 96 percent of this was flared, leaving only about 4 per cent which was utilized by the oil industries in their operations and a fraction of it sold to a few industries in the Eastern District including the NEPA in Afam.

Nigeria's current production of associated gas (i.e., gas closely linked with oil fields) is 1.5 billion standard cubic feet per day, 82.4 percent of this is flared.

Only 17.6 per cent of this figure is harnessed and processed. 14.4 per cent is consumed by NNPC customers including the National Electric Power Authority in their thermal power plants in Afam, Sapele and Ughelli, the Rivers State Development Corporation in Amadi, Nigeria Petroleum Refinery, Elesa-Eleme, Nigeria Petroleum Refinery in Warri and the Kaduna Refinery.

Other industries like the Lever Brothers, Aba, Nigerian Breweries, Aba, Delta Steel Company, Aladja, Delta Glass Company, Warri, etc., also consume part of the 14.4 per cent.

NNPC Gas Supply Centres (Western Area)

Centres	Associated Gas mmscfd.	Non-Associated Gas mmscfd.	Total mmscfd.
Ughelli/Alodjo	70	150	220
Sopele	46	120	166
Oben	32	90	122
Total	148	360	508

NNPC Customers (Western Area)

Consumers	Average Daily Consumption mmscfd.
NEPA, Sopele	104.0
NEPA, Ughelli	45.0
DSC, Aladja	7.0
ASCL, Ajaakuto	2.0 (Started consumption late May 1983)
DELTA GLASS, Ughelli	2.0
Total	160.0

The remaining 3.2 per cent is utilised by the NNPC and other oil industries in oil production and also in the gas re-injection project, still at an experimental stage of development. In fact the NNPC has reached an agreement with the Agip oil company for gas re-injection.

To emphasize the importance of the project, a seminar on gas re-injection was held at the Petroleum Training Institute, Warri on October 27, 1982.

Gas re-injection in small quantities is also being carried out by Mobil in Asabo-Ekpe and by Shell Petroleum Development at Akiri-Oguta both in the Western area gas operation.

The figure of 1.5 billion cubic feet does not include free or non-associated gas which remains substantially unexploited. Free gas wells now established in Afam and Obigbo North in the Eastern District and Ughelli East and Oben in the Western District only serve to supplement associated gas supplies. But in the event of shut down of oil production for any reason whatsoever, the free gas facilities can comfortably supply all the gas needs of the NEPA and other industries depending on gas as fuel.

NNPC spokesman confirming the unlikelihood of interruption of the flow of pipeline gas said, "For short periods, we have had industrial actions by the junior and senior staff unions of the corporation, respectively. During such periods the management of the corporation mobilised all available resources including deployment of management staff to man essential operations to ensure steady and uninterrupted supply of gas to the customer." He further stressed "the backup or makeup role of free (unassociated) gas for shortfalls in the supply of associated gas in the event of oil glut when the attendant associated gas production is very low or in the extreme case non-existent."

The NNPC claims an operating philosophy of utilising first the associated gas produced along with crude oil so that in periods of reasonable oil production "we are able to reduce gas flaring in the areas concerned by putting gas that would otherwise have been flared into gainful use."

But the volume of gas harnessed in this way is nothing compared with the amount flared daily from all the crude oil production centres. As stated earlier, the volume of gas currently flared by the oil producing wells is 1.5 billion c.f.d. as against just over NNPC installed capacity of gas production of under 700 million s.c.f.d. This is a very modest, but dynamic surge in the context of the short space of NNPC life:

If the NNPC maintains its present level of forward planning it should be able to avoid being caught bewildered as it was in the NEPA Afam IV thermal plant project.

It is worthy of note that all the natural gas being produced today is for internal consumption. Like crude oil, natural gas too has its own by-products, and that the little exploited is not exported should not blind us to the equally valuable by-products which could in turn generate subsidiary industries near the gas wells and earn foreign exchange for Nigeria just like the projected LNG scheme.

Well head installations could straight away exploit one such by-product, silicon, used in the manufacture of photo-voltaic cells and electronics. Again, converting natural gas into hydrogen would be a logical parallel development. Postponing action on the utilisation of natural gas by-products now will be more disastrous than the two decades delay in "putting gas that would have been flared into gainful use."

NNPC/Shell Gas Sales-September 1982

Company	Name of field	Amount of gas sold (cubic metres)	Name of consumer
Shell	Afam	41,716,321	NEPA, Afam
	Apara	1,798,639	RSDC, Amadi
	Apara	93,701	Agip
	Bomu	1,941,300	NPRC, Alesa-Eleme
	Bomu	20,228,277	NEPA, Afaro
	Imo River	143,199	Nigerian Breweries, Aba
	Imo River	362,401	Lever Brothers, Aba
	Imo River	202,552	Inter-Equitables, Aba
	Imo River	801,003	Associated Industries, Aba
	Imo River	80,930	Textiles Mills, Aba
	Ughelli East	41,543,531	NEPA Ughelli
	Ughelli East	1,538,689	Delta Glass Company
	Ughelli East	7,788,053	Aladje Delta Steel
NNPC	Sapela	116,517,027	NEPA, Sapela
Total		234,788,623	

The inability of third world oil producing nations to utilise these by-products has reduced them to the level of robots manipulated by the industrialized nations. It is well known that another by-product of gas, hydrogen, is being produced from all types of solid fuels. But it is most easily and cheaply produced from natural gas.

Reports have it that Peugeot automobile of France have produced a prototype 505 model powered by hydrogen. Peugeot has an assembly plant in Nigeria.

Converting natural gas into hydrogen is a gainful alternative to flaring. While flaring is a wasting process, government will collect excise revenue on hydrogen produced. Perhaps, this is the time to revise the NNPC planned expenditure of N8-9 billion for natural gas conversion to accommodate well-head installations capable of utilising the silicon, hydrogen and other by-products of gas. Coupled with the planned re-injection of gas, we should have just cause to be optimistic about the future of our oil and gas industry.

[4 Jul 83 p 9]

[Text] With effect from New Year day 1984, no more gas will be flared in Nigeria without a written permission from the Federal Government.

What this means in effect is that as from that date, the Federal Government intends to enforce the provisions of the Associated Gas Re-injection decree (now Act) of 1979 which require all oil companies to submit not later than

October 1, 1980 detailed programmes and plans for the implementation of programmes relating to the re-injection of all associated gas produced or alternative schemes for the viable utilisation of all associated gas not utilised in an industrial project.

In the first part of this report published last week, this writer laid bare efforts and concern by the authorities especially in the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation to reduce the millions of Naira lost energy day by flaring of gas at all our crude petroleum producing wells amounting to well over one billion cubic feet daily.

#### Losses

At the current price of over one naira per cubic feet of gas, what Nigeria loses by flaring is alarming compared to what we earn as foreign exchange from the sale of 1.3 million barrels of crude oil per day at 30 dollars per barrel.

The chairman of Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation himself, Mr. Horatio N.O. Agedah when he addressed a three-day seminar and exhibition on "Petro-chemical in Nigerian Economy" in Lagos in September 1982 stressed again that 'no more associated gas could be flared after January 1, 1984."

The question then is how do we go about ensuring that, on the deadline, Nigeria will be in a good position to prevent the flaring of gas and that all oil companies do not devise tactics to evade the laws.

Another question we must quickly address our minds to is the ability of our government to guarantee the harnessing and processing of natural gas in such a way as not to subject it to the now familiar administrative indifference and neglect which is the bane of economic progress in Nigeria.

As was stated last week, all the associated gas now utilised in the Western area and East area was operations amounts to just over 17 per cent of the total gas produced.

Cooking gas consumption is negligible. But other domestic utilisation of gas is quite promising especially for industrial purposes.

The NNPC claimed recently that if the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA) thermal power plants in Sapele and Ughelli were able to operate full capacity and utilise all the gas made available to them by the NNPC, NEPA would be able to generate 50 per cent of its current total national supply of electric from Sapele and Ughelli alone.

Evidently, optimism utilisation of NNPC installed gas capacity could drastically reverse the current erratic and unreliable power distribution in the country.

"When in 1981 NEPA showed some promise for increased gas utilisation at Sapele power station NNPC immediately took steps to modify the Oben/Ajaokuta gas facilities to enable additional gas from Oben to be made available at Sapele.

This new system, (the Oben Sapele connection) was commissioned in October 1982. Since then, and up to May, 1983, inclusive, except for very occasional peak consumptions, NEPA has not been able to utilise the full potential of the Sapele gas facility alone.

We have since learned, however, that the NEPA in that area has been plagued by some devastating problems, no less damaging of which is lack of spare parts. This has been attributed to the current national economic crisis which has stalled the issuance of import licenses and letters of credit, of primary industries like NEPA.

Another very alarming development at the NEPA power plants there, we understand is corrosion. This has prematurely retired or incapacitated some very essential materials in the system.

This development has called to question the quality and age of some of the machinery installed at the power stations.

Consequential breakdowns affect power supply generally and at the same time retard progress on development of the gas industry.

One should not appear to be critical of NEPA. It is, however, relevant to point out here that in the eastern district where NEPA claims its operations have been hampered by NNPC's short supply of gas, statistics are very revealing.

NEPA's gas requirement in Afam is 168 million standard cubic feet daily to generate about 700 megawatts of electricity. N C's current installed capacity is 108 million (scfd). The difference is 60 million scfd.

But the Obigbo north gas plant when it hopefully comes in stream in December will add another 90 million (scfd) to its load of 108m supplying a total of 198 million (scfd) which by far exceeds NEPA's demand.

Studies for the expansion of internal consumption of gas is a continuing exercise.

Apart from plans to replace the 20 year old pipeline serving Aba from Imo river, the NNPC has long term projects covering most of the heavy industrial regions of Nigeria.

For instance, in the western area, arrangements are progressing satisfactorily on the proposed Escravos Lagos gas pipeline.

The capacity conceived is not only directed at meeting the expected demand of NEPA for the proposed power plant at Igbin, near Lagos, but to also cater for several other potential industrial consumers along the route from Escravos to Lagos.

The NNPC judging from the optimism and enthusiasm of its gas experts, is set to grapple with the challenges of supplying gas to new major petroleum associated industries in the eastern district.

Officials spoke of their projections for the proposed NEPA thermal power stations in Calabar and Onitsha.

They also believe that the N9b liquified natural gas project in Bonny when it takes off will be supplied gas from the Bonny gas field in Rivers State.

The controversial petro-chemical industry which is yet to be sited (although it is speculated that part of it will be sited in Imo state while the other half will be based in Rivers State) will be supplied from NNPC gas plants in either Imo River in Imo State or Obigbo north in Rivers State.

And the NNPC is planning ahead towards these projects, although some of them are still at the drawing board stage.

In NNPC, exploratory team has already gone up north to the Lake Chad basin. With petroleum prospects there, it is only logical to confirm the level of deposit and the logistic of extracting the mineral and perhaps, Kaduna, the second largest industrial centre in the country could benefit from cheap fuel (gas) from the Lake Chad region.

Having said this much about potentials for internal consumption of gas, one may then consider briefly, the export potentials.

The 9b liquified natural gas (LNG) project sited in Bonny, in my view is as vital for the realisation of prime nation objectives as the Natural Gas Re-injection Decree 1979.

If we remind ourselves that of the 931.8 billion cubic metres of gas reserves Nigeria was supposed to have at the end of 1980, we produced about 24,552 million cubic metres utilising only 1,070 million cubic metres and flaring as much as 23,482 million cubic metres, that is 95.6 per cent.

Three years later, that figure has come down to about 83 per cent.

There is no doubt that we have been palpably and culpably indifferent to the misfortunes of our country when, as members of the OPEC, we were all along living with the fact that other OPEC countries seriously invested in gas re-injection and utilisation.

For instance Venezuela flared only 6 (six) per cent of her gas as compared with 95.6 per cent recorded by Nigeria.

Kindergarten economists would have seen the yawning gap and worked to bridge it.

Now, belated though we have the opportunity of re-jecting gas; of utilising gas through the LNG project in Bonny which will enable Nigeria export about 650 trillion btu's of LNG annually to the United States and Europe, earning the country enormous foreign exchange.

The Nigerian Government did not appear to be committed or dedicated to the project. As Dr. Ade T. Ojo pointed out in his very informative articles in the NEW NIGERIAN newspaper of February 8, 1983, "Had the Nigerian authorities been committed to a timely execution of the first Bonny LNG project, the contract would have been signed by the end of 1979 such that the construction work would have started in 1980.

The first phase of gas output would have started by 1982, and the other phases would have been completed about 1984 when gas export would have started.

Over the 20 years lifespan of the project, it would have yielded over 11 billion dollars per annum as formerly estimated.

This, therefore, would have constituted a major alternative revenue source of oil.

In addition, by facilitating an increased domestic utilization of gas for energy purposes, loss of the country's oil would be consumed, thus making more of the oil produced available for export to bring in more foreign exchange earnings."

Natural gas has always been there for exploitation since the beginning of the oil era, but contract breakage, phoney agency arrangements, and the complicated and morally questionable sales system, a system that permits Nigerians to milk Nigerians and yet break no laws, have conspired to deal a deadly vampire punch to an otherwise buoyant economy.

Natural gas harnessed, processed and honestly marketed is Nigeria's last hope to bail out of the turbulent economic storm ahead.

For the furtherance of the exploitation and utilisation of natural gas in the on-going proposal for piping Nigeria's gas to Europe, a Spanish consortium is highly interested in the plan which involves laying pipelines along the West Coast.

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NIGERIA

BRIEFS

TRADITIONAL RULERS REASSURED--No Oba or traditional ruler will be deposed, victimised or humiliated in Ogun State under the NPN government. The institutions of traditional rulers and Obaship would be enhanced and accorded their rightful place in the society, the NPN senatorial aspirant, Chief Ola Yesufu has declared in Shagamu. Addressing supporters of his party at a rally held in front of the Oba's palace in Shagamu, Chief Yesufu condemned the humiliation suffered by some Obas and traditional rulers from the hands of the UPN administration. He appealed to the electorate to vote massively for Chief Soji Odunjo, his party's governorship candidate, adding that Chief Odunjo would reinstate the deposed Awuyale of Ijebuland immediately [after] he is sworn-in as the state governor in October. [Text] [Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 5 Jul 83 p 2]

KWARA CRISIS SETTLEMENT--Fresh moves, much more drastic than two previous attempts, are currently being worked upon by the National Party of Nigeria to deal "once and for all" with the seemingly intractable Kwara State NPN crisis. This, according to top party sources, is sequel to the divergent positions still being adopted by the feuding factions, in spite of the party's late April '83 peace treaty. Party Deputy National Secretary, Dr. Ibezim Chukwumerije, told me in an interview during the week that party's "behind the scene moves," aimed at effecting a final solution, have reached a "sensitive level." He, however, neither revealed the party's 'modus operandi' this time around, nor gave clues as to the possible outcome, "because it is too early to talk." He hinted, though, that the outcome may be drastic, pledging that "we won't mind whose ox is gored in the process." He denied that Dr. Saraki, leader of one of the factions, turned down a presidential request to mediate on the crisis. The party had early last month, presumably at the instance of the president, summoned the 'dramatis personae' to a meeting at the State House. The meeting, my investigations revealed, was to deliberate extensively on the protracted crisis. Those invited at the meeting included Dr. Olusola Saraki, Governor Adamu Atta, Alhaji Haliru Dantoro, Ministers Akanbi Oniyangi and Mamman Ali Makele, and top party officials. [Text] [Lagos SUNDAY TIMES in English 3 Jul 83 p 24]

RIVERS STATE LNG PROJECT--Work on the N9 billion Federal liquified natural gas project at Bonny, Rivers State, is to begin soon. Vice-President Dr. Alex Ekwueme made the announcement during a campaign rally held recently in Port Harcourt. Dr. Fkweme, the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) presidential running-mate, announced on behalf of President Shehu Shagari that the President has ordered for the LNG project to take off after the rainy season. By then

arrangements for the project should be completed. The vice-president urged the party supporters at the "Okilo '83" rally to reject the Nigerian People's Party (NPP) whose presidential candidate and national leader, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, has promised to transfer the LNG project to Imo State if voted to power. Reacting to Dr. Ekwueme's announcement, Mr. Maxwell Tolofari, the chairman of the Bonny district co-ordination committee of NPN, in a statement thanked President Shagari for making the dream of the Rivers State people come true. Mr. Tolofari called upon the people of Rivers State to return the National Party of Nigeria back to power in the state and at the Federal level in the interest of peace, unity and stability of the country. He said that any minority state that failed to vote for the NPN has itself to blame because the party was created for the benefit of minority areas. The chairman said that he strongly held the view of Chief Melford Okilo, governor of Rivers State, that minority states will gain their freedom on the day Alhaji Shehu Shagari is returned to power. Mr. Tolofari pointed out that what the NPN has done for Rivers State people should reinforce their commitment to the party. [Text] [Calabar SUNDAY CALL in English 3 Jul 83 p 12]

NPN DENOUNCES GENERAL ESUENE--In 1972, Brigadier U.J. Esuene, military governor of South Eastern State, undertook a meet-the-people tour of Ikom. The chiefs and people of the area presented an address of welcome to their military governor. As is usual with such addresses they made some requests about their conditions. Brigadier Esuene, instead of listening to their yearnings, ordered soldiers to administer 96 strokes of the cane to each of the seven chiefs present at the occasion. It was an episode unprecedented in the history of modern Nigeria. Brigadier Esuene of 1972, is Chief U.J. Esuene of 1983, the governorship candidate of the Unity Party of Nigeria. Why should Ikom people vote for him? [Text] [Calabar SUNDAY CALL in English 3 Jul 83 p 1]

CSO: 3400/1657

COMMUNIST PARTY SECRETARY DISCUSSES NATIONAL SITUATION, PROSPECTS

Saint Denis TEMOIGNAGES in French 1, 2 Jun 83

[1 Jun 83 p 2]

[Interview with Reunionese Communist Party Secretary Elie Hoarau by Sulliman Banian et. al. on 31 May 1983]

[Text] Last evening, an interview with our comrade Elie Hoarau, who was questioned by an RFO Reunion team headed by Sulliman Banian, was carried on television. Today we are publishing the first part of this interview with the secretary of the Central Committee of the Reunionese Communist Party.

[Question] Mr Hoarau, it is the civil service which is currently the focus of attention. This is a problem which is causing a number of discussions in political, trade union and socioprofessional circles. How does the Reunionese Communist Party analyze the situation?

[Answer] One of the obstacles, but not the only one, to the development of Reunion, is the existence of a very great disparity in income. One cannot ask a laborer to work in a given sector which one wants to promote when in another sector, remuneration is 5 to 10 times greater than in the sector one wants to encourage. This is why we say that this disparity, these inequalities, which are considerable, must be reduced.

Let us take for example two sectors, the public sector on the one hand, and the private sector on the other. Thanks to the correction index and the 35 percent indemnity, the wage of an employee in the public sector in Reunion is some 47 or 48 percent higher than that of his counterpart working in metropolitan France. In the private sector, on the other hand, the wage base for the vast majority of the workers is the interoccupational minimum growth wage, which is 22 to 23 percent lower than that in metropolitan France.

Thus on the one hand you have +47 or 48 percent while on the other you have -23 percent. This creates a considerable disparity.

The Left Must Innovate

[Question] Will dealing with the income of employees suffice to guarantee mastery of the prices charged in Reunion?

[Answer] This is a second problem. It is necessary to reduce this disparity, and one of the ways, naturally, is to reduce the correction index, to reduce the 35 percent for "costly living" items.

But these are ideas which are not concepts of the left as such. This has been applied by various successive right-wing governments. From 1971 to 1979, the correction index was reduced from 1.65 to 1.138, and the important thing is that these sums which were saved by the government by means of the reduction of the correction index remained in metropolitan France, and that is the serious part.

We in the communist party say that the left-wing can innovate. It must do so to ensure that these sums remain in Reunion. If since 1981 these sums had been invested for the development of Reunion here in the department, or to increase low-cost housing, we would not be in this situation today. And this we can obtain from the leftist government.

#### An Incredible Opportunity for Reunion

[Question] What you want precisely is that this money taken from the pockets of employees should remain in Reunion, and thus be put back into the economic circuit in one way or another. Isn't this a little bit utopian?

[Answer] It is not only money taken from the pockets of government employees. We must be clear about this. It is a question of the highest income, and this is found in the civil service but also in the private sector, and it is found in the liberal professions as well.

We say then that if those who have the highest income allow an indexed fraction to remain in Reunion and to be put back into circulation through a development fund, in accordance with an established process and following a broad agreement (and I insist on the need for a broad agreement), then, we say, if these sums remain in Reunion, we will have given Reunion an incredible opportunity to develop.

#### The Hope of the People of Reunion

[Question] In what form? A regional loan, for example?

[Answer] We say that the agreement could define in what form these sums could be put back into the economy of Reunion. There must be a broad agreement and we are convinced that if there is a will on the part of everyone to develop Reunion, well then, we say, a solution will be found.

To all of those precisely who can show solidarity toward the most neglected strata, we say that the time has come to launch the debate. It is for them to show that they are capable of rising above their personal interests to serve the collective interest, which is the development of Reunion.

It is not a question of finding scapegoats. All of that, I think, is like a bad novel. What is important is that the 53,000 who are unemployed in Reunion

and the 41,000 families who live in these shantytowns should know henceforth that the improvement of their fate depends in part on the solidarity the people of Reunion may show toward them.

Of course, national solidarity is needed and, as the government has said many times, it will be maintained and improved. But in view of the serious situation Reunion is experiencing, this national solidarity is not enough. It must be supplemented by solidarity on the part of the citizens of Reunion for each other. And those who can show solidarity must understand, and increasingly they do understand, that they now are the hope of the people of Reunion, who know that this solidarity is indispensable.

[2 Jun 83 p 3]

[Text] Below we are publishing the second part of the interview with our comrade Elie Hoarau which was telecast Tuesday evening. In it, he discusses the agreement reached among the various political parties in the Regional Council, stresses the lack of representation in the present General Council, and emphasizes the need for development as the only way of bringing veritable change to Reunion.

[Question] Mr Hoarau, what is your assessment of the situation in Reunion now that the left wing has been in power 2 years?

[Answer] I believe that there is an important factor in this assessment, which is the establishment of the centralization structures in order to move toward the development of Reunion. And the establishment of the decentralization structures has begun: the Regional Council has been set up.

[Question] Are you speaking of a consensus?

[Answer] I am speaking of the agreement, and I believe that this is the first time that we have seen a Regional Council president, who has all of the regional authority and that of the regional executive as well, sharing his power with all his other vice presidential colleagues, whatever their political affiliation.

This is not only a search for a consensus, since we know in fact that there are numerous different parties in the Regional Council, and not all of these parties could possibly have identical points of view on all of the problems. But what the president of the Regional Council has decided is that he wanted to give each his share of responsibility. And this is important.

And this makes a contrast with the General Council, where there is a right-wing majority and it has seized all the authority, from which it has excluded the elected leftist members. This is the more intolerable since there is an imbalance in the representation of opinion in the General Council, and there is also underrepresentation there of the large communes. And all of this is due to an unjust districting of the cantons.

Do you know how many elected leftist members there are in the General Council? Only 25 percent, while 75 percent were elected by the right wing! This is intolerable.

In the same fashion, let us compare two cantons. I will take at random the canton of Avirons, which has 3,000 inhabitants, one General Council member, and the canton of Port, which has 30,000 inhabitants, that is to say 10 times the population of Avirons, but has only one General Council member.

Thus you will see the injustice--this is why we are asking for redistricting of the cantons in Reunion. We say that the work of decentralization will not be completed until a redistricting of the cantons is effectively undertaken.

But we are not awaiting this new redistricting to raise the basic problems in Reunion, and these problems are those we mentioned a while ago at the beginning of our interview.

[Question] In conclusion, Mr Hoarau, do you believe that Reunion has really taken a turn toward change?

[Answer] We believe that there will be no real change in Reunion if there is not real development. This is the basic problem: economic, social and cultural development. Perhaps one day we will have an opportunity to continue this discussion of cultural development in Reunion.

But this development cannot come about unless the entire population is involved.

We want development. Why? In order to serve the basic interests, the basic hopes of the population, of the people.

Beginning now, the people should be involved in development, and the best means of involving them is to have them participate in the discussion. Thus it is necessary to have a great debate on the possibilities for development in Reunion, and on the way in which this development will be pursued.

If everyone participates, we are convinced that we will have won this battle of the future of Reunion and we will all have won together.

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NEW ERA OF COOPERATION WITH CANADA CITED

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 13 Jun 83 pp 1, 10

[Text] Recent history teaches us that the discovery of Africa by Canada has always been the work of monks and nuns involved in teaching or the health sector. It is through them that the country made its first timid steps on the African continent as a whole. But today, thanks to the independence won by the former African colonies and a new approach to the handling of its relations with foreign countries, Canada is opening up to the black continent.

Currently, for example, this giant which is a member of the Club of Seven, a group including the main industrial countries in the noncommunist world, is seeking to diversify its economic and political relations with the African nations as much as possible. Without a doubt this new strategy is designed to modify the role of this country on the international chessboard to a profound extent and to establish the foundations of beneficial cooperation with its new partners.

Zaire is one of these countries which has maintained, for some years past now, a certain flow of trade with Canada in several sectors. However, in order to strengthen this cooperation, the two countries have decided to increase the volume of this trade. It is within this framework that the Executive Council and the government of Canada have just signed two codicils pertaining to a loan to be used for the FORESCOM project and to the Canadian contribution to cover payment for experts' professional and technical services.

Under the terms of the first codicil, which comes within the framework of the loan agreement signed on 11 November 1977 and amended on 25 October 1980, Canada will grant Zaire a loan of 11,500,000 Canadian dollars.

The second codicil, pertaining to the special arrangement dated 11 November 1977 and amended on 25 October 1980, again with regard to the FORESCOM project, establishes Canada's contribution in subsidy form at 8 million Canadian dollars.

And, just as these codicils have been signed by the two partners, a delegation from the Canadian Electro Fertilizers International (EFI) company arrived this morning in Kinshasa with plans to stay until 17 June in order to pursue negotiations with the administration of the Inga Free Zone (ZOFI) on the building of an ammonia production unit in the coastal region of Zaire.

These negotiations should lead to the signing of a preliminary agreement on the drafting of feasibility studies for a unit with a production capacity of 200,000 tons of ammonia annually.

Thus, in view of this influx of Canadian capital into our country, we cannot help but conclude that a new era of cooperation is dawning for Zaire and Canada.

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FIRM CONTROL OF FOREIGN LABOR URGED

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 29 May 83 pp 1, 7

[Editorial]

[Text] Since last Thursday, the Department of Labor and Social Security has been checking foreigners' work cards. According to a reliable source, this operation, which is being overseen by the office of State Commissioner Kande Buloba, is being pursued for the purpose of finding those enterprises which, despite the issuance of numerous communiquees published in the press, have not yet taken the trouble to renew these documents which all expatriates working in Zaire are required to have. It goes without saying that the ad hoc commission appointed has been given the authority to shut down the companies which have not yet conformed to the legislation in effect in our country.

From what has been seen, this measure is being welcomed in all professional circles in Zaire, particularly since it will allow the authorities to establish precisely the number and the status of the immigrant workers and to assess quite accurately the extent and the usefulness of their contribution to the development of our country in comparison to domestic manpower.

Since the Republic of Zaire inherited from the colonial era only a handful of university-trained cadres, as Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko said in his speech last 19 May, the nation has since it won independence trained more than 43,000 high-level specialists in various fields. But can we presume that this manpower, the importance of which needs no explanation in a young country called upon to occupy a leading place in the concert of developed nations, is currently being wisely used?

In fact, if it is agreed that the contribution of some expatriates in clearly determined sectors is proving very beneficial, it is unfortunately necessary to note that the hiring or recruiting of some foreigners is not consistent with the job market needs or the needed qualification criteria. This practice certainly does a disservice to cadres from Zaire who are literally banished from enterprises of a neocolonial sort in favor of "immigrants" who have fled an unemployment situation in their home countries, but whose incompetence is notorious and who, paradoxically, attempt to conduct themselves in Zaire as if in a conquered nation.

One of the recent studies on manpower in Zaire shows that in a number of companies, paralleling citizens of Zaire who are qualified both on the technical

and moral level, there are expatriates commonly called coordinators, supervisors, advisers, cooperative workers, etc., so employed for reasons which smack of neocolonialism. Moreover, in the majority of cases, this Zairian elite finds itself assigned honorary posts lacking decision-making authority and real responsibility. Many in this legion are presidents of boards of directors, personnel managers, heads of public relations, holders of powers of attorney, etc.

It would be too tedious to list all of the cases illustrating how Zairian cadres, above all those with strong personalities, are treated in their own country. There are instances which have attracted the attention of the public authorities on more than one occasion. However, though it is far from our minds to preach xenophobia in a country known for its hospitality, we nonetheless believe that Zairian manpower merits strict protection, above all this elite of which the nation has enormous need for its development, and which is currently tending to turn to other African areas where the competence of its members is justly remunerated.

However, to avoid any abuse and so that the national economy will not suffer from the anarchic application of this measure, we believe that it would be good policy to impose compromise fines only on those companies which had not conformed to the legal provisions in this sector by 31 May, as planned.

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REACTION TO FIRST STATE COMMISSIONER'S TOUR OF REGIONS

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 3-7 May 83

[Article by Bami Babaye Basobe]

[3 May 83 pp 1, 7]

[Text] For 2 weeks the public followed reports on the various stages of the inspection and working visit made by citizen Kengo Wa Dondo, coordinator of the Executive, to four regions. As we all know, the visit began in Kasai Occidental on 16 April 1983 and then continued in the regions of Kasai Oriental, Shaba, and Kivu.

Kivu, which was the last stage of the first part of the first state commissioner's tour, gave citizen Kengo Wa Dondo a reception worthy of the name. Taking advantage of the visit by the first state commissioner, the regional chairman of the MPR and regional governor of Kivu submitted to him the problems confronting that part of the republic.

Among those problems, we should mention erosion, the lengthening of the runway at Kavumu Airport (the chief link with the rest of the country), which has become inaccessible to jumbo jets, construction of the hospital on Udju Island, the anarchic distribution of fuel, and so on. As was true in the other regions, solutions were considered, taking into account the Executive Council's means.

But the inhabitants are wondering about the relevance of the trip and the lessons that can be drawn from it. What impact will it have on the various sectors of national life? It is those questions which our reporter, who went along on the trip, will try to answer in coming issues.

Purpose of Trip: Take Stock and Diagnose

The trip by citizen Kengo Wa Dondo, first state commissioner, is continuing to give rise to diverse comments in various circles both in the capital and in the

regions. In the opinion of many informed observers, this trip, which is taking place just after the green light to clean house that was given to the coordinator of the Executive by the father of the nation, Marshal Mobuto, takes on a more important meaning. The country's future depends on it.

Let us say immediately that this was a genuine inspection and working visit. To inspect whom and what? The first state commissioner himself provided the answer to that question during the working meetings over which he presided in all the regions visited. "We have come to see, listen, observe, take stock of all the problems, and diagnose them. To see if the means at the Executive Council's disposal permit it to face up to the various situations confronting the decentralized entities."

Pursuing his line of thought, the first state commissioner was careful to add that intervention by the state depends on revenues from the products we export, among them copper. Since copper constitutes our chief source of foreign exchange earnings, one can see immediately how greatly the state is being penalized by the chronically low price for that metal on the international market.

And since misfortunes never arrive singly, Zaire, whose economy is not safe from the fluctuations in the world market, has also had to experience a second bitter trial by feeling the shock wave from an international economic crisis that has not spared the economies of the richest countries on the globe. That situation calls for dialogue among all of the country's living forces and particularly between the political power, which is the Executive Council, and the economic power, which is ANEZA [National Association of Zairian Enterprises].

To succeed in that undertaking, the first state commissioner chose the wisest path: that of starting with the rank and file. As he had done in Kinshasa, citizen Kengo Wa Dondo talked with the representatives of all sectors of national life. He was thus able to see how orders issued by the central authority are passed along. In short, it was a matter of seeing whether the Executive Council's philosophy as regards the various departments is followed and implemented as it should be.

That is why the first state commissioner did not hesitate to bring most of the Executive Council's team along on his working visit. Accompanying him on this tour of the regions were the state commissioners for territorial administration; planning; agriculture, environment, and rural development; mines and energy; public works and territorial development; transport and communications; health; and government investment holdings, as well as the secretary of state for economy and industries, the chairman and director of ANEZA, and the secretary general of UNTZA [National Union of Workers of Zaire].

The large number of officials from various sectors who accompanied the first state commissioner leads one to believe that the coordinator of the Executive wants to leave nothing to chance and that he will do a thorough job. The fact is that in the field, some of the problems brought up have required intervention by the department heads.

[Text] ANEZA: Concern To Support Development Effort

In following the various reports devoted to the inspection and working visit just made by citizen Kengo Wa Dondo, first state commissioner, through Kasai Occidental, Kasai Oriental, Shaba, and Kivu, our readers have undoubtedly been struck by the active role played by ANEZA's members throughout the discussions held in the course of that tour. In their capacity as economic agents, ANEZA's members have given the clear impression that they are taking seriously what the Executive Council expects from them.

As we have constantly emphasized, the action being taken by the first state commissioner is meant to be far-ranging and thorough, in keeping with the spirit of its initiator, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, father of the nation. National economic recovery depends on the economic agents, who are the chief source of the government's revenues in the form of taxes and other contributions that feed the national treasury.

Mentioning the problem of taxes naturally leads to their source--that is, the taxpayers. Grouped together in ANEZA, the economic agents form a structured group: a real economic power. It is they who disburse the funds to pay taxes and who invest in the country. And as employers, they have their word to say in the labor market.

That being so, the success of concerted liberalism--the economic policy that militates in favor of dialogue among the social partners (households, enterprises, and the government)--depends on the cooperation that must exist between the Executive Council and the economic agents.

In keeping with that concept, the businessman is to be viewed as an indispensable partner. He can make useful suggestions in the area with which he is familiar. In return, he asks for consistent treatment in order to carry out his mission successfully.

Unfortunately, the equation becomes complicated here, with the two sides--the Executive Council and ANEZA--throwing the ball back and forth. The first state commissioner threw this out to the economic agents: "We are the political power, and you (ANEZA) are the economic power. We will give you a good policy, but you must then give us good finances." Through his action in the hinterland, the coordinator of the Executive, as he himself said, wants to prove to the economic agents that the Executive Council takes an interest in them and would also like to cooperate with them. The reason is that their success is not only ANEZA's business: it also means the success of Zaire. The ideal to which we aspire is that of prosperous enterprises in a prosperous state.

To achieve that goal, the first state commissioner asked ANEZA to induce its members to refrain from filing falsified balance sheets: one for tax purposes and another for business purposes. Where can the Executive Council get its money except from the taxpayers? They were asked to practice transparent

management. Transparent management is not the prerogative solely of administrative agencies and the political authorities, but also of businessmen.

On the other hand, what ANEZA expects from the Executive is good administration. Among the batch of grievances mentioned by ANEZA's members--and we cannot list them all here (they touch on every sector of national life)--a prominent place is occupied by the fanciful taxes instituted for the needs of the cause by most of the regional authorities.

Those trumped-up taxes put a dangerous strain on the taxpayers' coffers and reduce their turnover to benefit a few irresponsible officials. In addition to those unfortunate cases, the economic agents complained of the anarchic distribution of fuel in the regions visited. On this subject, the newspaper ELIMA has already denounced the practice by which fuel sent to the hinterland is taken over by certain individuals who then resell it on the black market.

The businessmen with whom the first state commissioner met were insatiable in examining with him all the problems disturbing them. Aware of the period through which we are passing, citizen Kengo Wa Dondo appealed to their creative genius. Many difficulties being experienced by the regions could have been ironed out if the economic agents had taken action. This is the case, for example, with the Mbuji-Mayi Hospital. That hospital complex lacks beds even though the city is swarming with businessmen.

To ANEZA's credit, we can say that instead of being a club for making demands or pursuing selfish interests, that association is concerned that the government's affairs should run smoothly. On several occasions, for example, citizen Bemba Saolona, ANEZA's chairman, spoke up to urge the economic agents to fulfill their obligations to the government. He flared up against those members who encourage fraud and corruption. Does this mean that the Executive Council can now count on ANEZA in that struggle? There are strong reasons for thinking so. The ball has now been thrown into ANEZA's court. It is up to its members to play.

[5 May 83 pp 1, 7]

[Text] UNTZa: Better Conditions for Workers

In yesterday's edition, we mentioned ANEZA's role in the country's economic development in accordance with the desire and policy of the Executive Council. The question that undoubtedly arises next is that of the place assigned to the working masses. What can the worker hope for in this period? We are talking about the regional worker, naturally.

The tune can only be called by the authorized spokesman, and that is citizen Kombo Tonga Booke, member of the Central Committee and secretary general of UNTZa. It goes without saying that because he was a member of the first state commissioner's party, the secretary general of UNTZa took advantage of that working visit to familiarize himself with the social conditions--or rather, wage conditions--of the workers in the four regions visited, where the working conditions are very hard because of wage conditions.

He contacted the company heads to clear up the situation before making the indispensable decisions for stamping out the evil. But one thing is certain, and that is that UNTZa has not remained passive in the face of the effect that the current crisis has had on the purchasing power of low wage earners.

According to UNTZa's secretary general, decisions have been reached for helping the country out of its current economic stagnation. Like any other trade union in the world, UNTZa emanates from a political party and is nurtured by its ideology. In our country, UNTZa has chosen dialogue as advocated by the MPR, our party-state, rather than unauthorized strikes.

UNTZa's philosophy in this critical period is straightforward. Our union is asking the officials responsible for paying public sector workers in the country's interior to do their duty as they should. Wages must be paid to the worker in full and on a regular schedule. This allows the worker to adjust his monthly family budget without too much disruption.

Unfortunately, wages are paid late and in installments, as though the central government were not doing its job on time. Although this is the fault of a few irresponsible individuals, the worker is the one who pays in their place. The teachers, for example, are not asking for any wage increase, but they would like for premiums based on qualification to be recognized.

In the private sector, UNTZa is not aware of any legal text that prevents company heads from improving the social conditions of their workers if the firms make a profit. The reason is that the vitality of a firm is not due solely to the employer's effort: it is a joint achievement by the employer and his workers. As soon as the owner of a firm determines that there is a profit, it is completely good policy for him to think of those who cooperated in producing that profit and to recognize that they are entitled to live.

To cap it all off, UNTZa has difficulty distinguishing prosperous firms from those that are not. With a few exceptions, all the firms manage to present falsified balance sheets at the end of the year. They conceal their true turnover. Everything depends on the conscience of the company head.

[6 May 83 pp 1, 7]

[Text] Government Departments: Time To Take Stock

Although the tour by citizen Kengo Wa Dondo, first state commissioner, has not yet reached its conclusion, the associates who accompanied him on the first stage of his tour are already preparing their reports for the founding president. As the fruit of their labor, those reports cannot fail to transcend the aspirations of the inhabitants in the regions.

The harvest is great--there is not the shadow of a doubt about that. For 13 days, the heads of departments who were part of the first state commissioner's party covered thousands of kilometers. Far from their air-conditioned offices, they were forced to work at a different pace. They also had more leisure to

examine the problems submitted to them. At the same time, the state commissioners had plenty of time in which to check up on the workings of their own departments.

During the same visit, the inhabitants, whose voices have often been silenced for reasons easy to explain, made themselves heard. From the Department of Territorial Administration to the Department of Agriculture, and including the departments concerned with public health, energy, planning, mines, and so on, problems burst forth from everywhere. Informed observers appreciated the first state commissioner's reactions to the distress of the regional workers. The coordinator of the Executive calmed them by inviting each state commissioner and the secretary of state for economy and industries to take turns providing explanations concerning the issues raised. It was a real face-to-face encounter.

#### First State Commissioner Faces Three Kinds of Problems

We believe that when the first state commissioner returned to Kinshasa last 28 April, he carried in his overnight case three kinds of problems out of all those presented to him. Those problems can be classified as follows: 1) Problems that were solved on the spot. These involved cases in which the first state commissioner had the authority and the necessary means for stepping in immediately. As examples, we can mention the distribution of fuel, which from now on will be carried out with ANEZA's participation, intervention by the Executive Council to provide beds for the Mbuji-Mayi Hospital, and so on.

2) Problems whose solution requires sizable logistic resources. This type of problem requires more sizable intervention than that provided in the current budget. The Executive Council will definitely include them prominently in the draft national budget for the coming fiscal year, which will be submitted to the Legislative Council. This includes in particular the problems of erosion, energy, and so on.

3) Finally, the last--and most complicated--category takes in all the related problems. More specifically, it includes the moral sickness from which the administration suffers as a legal entity. This is, in fact, the evil that is currently eating away at the administration. The solution will come only from psychological action supported by conditioning as a stimulus.

Although this evil affects all departments and state-owned enterprises, the Department of Territorial Administration suffers from it especially because of the intolerable behavior of its officials. We pointed out at the very start that the economic agents had asked the first state commissioner to give them good administration after he had thrown the ball into their court by asking them for finances.

The first state commissioner did not conceal his disappointment at the abuses being committed by public officials, including those in the special services, who are guilty of real plunder. Because of those cases of dereliction of duty, the state commissioner for territorial administration had to step in and suspend those under him who were found guilty of dishonesty. So did his colleague Dr Tshibasu, state commissioner for public health. The latter did not hesitate to suspend three officials at Kalemie Hospital for abuse of power.

On several occasions, the state commissioner for territorial administration, citizen Munongo, had to step in to explain to officials in his department what their duties toward the inhabitants were according to the ideals of the MPR, our party-state, which wants the militant to serve rather than be served. Anyone who departs from that line of conduct is not worthy of the administration, and as a result, he must be removed. Have the government's officials realized that times have changed and that they have everything to gain by getting rid of their shameful habits? Only the future will tell.

[7 May 83 pp 1, 7]

#### [Text] Solutions in Sight

Nearly 2 weeks of an enriching regional tour have enabled citizen Kengo Wa Dondo, first state commissioner, and the state commissioners accompanying him to familiarize themselves on the spot with the realities being faced every day by party militants in the hinterland.

The visits to the urban centers and a number of rural communities, as well as working meetings with local authorities and representatives of the economic agents, spotlighted basic problems facing the militant masses in those regions in the areas of agricultural access roads, foodstuff production, transportation, energy, education, and health.

On returning to the capital, the first state commissioner submitted a succinct report to the Executive Council during the latter's meeting on Friday, 29 April. The council decided to set up a committee to gather all proposed solutions for submission to the founding chairman of the MPR and president of the republic, Marshal Mobuto Sese Seko. The committee is made up of the state commissioners (territorial administration, agriculture, public works, mines, transport, and public health) and the secretary of state for economy and industries, who had accompanied the first state commissioner on his inspection and working visit to four regions in the southern part of the country: Kasai Occidental, Kasai Oriental, Shaba, and Kivu.

In view of the Executive Council's desire to study the basic problems of the regions while they are fresh, it is certain that the solutions it adopts will meet the expectations of the militant masses in the hinterland. Punishment has already been ordered for territorial cadres found guilty of dereliction of duty in the exercise of their functions.

Pending the continuation of the first state commissioner's visit, which will take him to the other regions, there is reason for hope.

#### Final Word

All we can say in conclusion is that the first stage of the regional visits by the first state commissioner has provided a wealth of information. It enabled the coordinator of the Executive to get an accurate idea of the realities in our regions. The trip gave him the opportunity to put his finger on the sickness that is eating away at government administration. From now on, the

coordinator of the Executive will no longer rely solely on reports that are accommodatingly drawn up in most cases for reasons that are easy to guess.

The trip was also an education for the state commissioners, who were able to see how orders from Kinshasa are carried out. Although this visit was announced at the proper time and prepared for, many regional officials were nevertheless caught. Wrongdoing does not pay, and officials of that kind got what they deserved--that is, they have been suspended pending investigation. The technicians who were part of the delegation surely took the necessary notes concerning all the irregularities observed at the places they visited.

For regional officials, the visit by citizen Kengo Wa Dondo, first state commissioner, was a genuine moral tonic despite the bad scare it created within the regional administration. An event like this does not occur every day. For their part, the workers and the economic agents, not to mention the peasants, felt that the visit by the first state commissioner to their respective regions would revitalize government activities, and this trip has reassured them that the Executive Council takes an interest in them.

Obviously, all those people thanked the guide of our revolution and father of the nation, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, for having initiated this saving action. Now that everything has been said concerning this first round of regional visits by the first state commissioner, the eyes of all observers are fixed on the decisions that will come down from the Executive Council, at least as regards the first stopgap measures to be adopted against the evils that require immediate action. We draw the curtain while we await the second round.

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PROBLEMS, OPTIONS IN PROMOTING RESEARCH DISCUSSED

Results Not Disseminated

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 27 May 83 pp 1, 7

[Article by Mputu-Toko Dingani: "The Real Problems of Scientific Research in Zaire: The Commissioner of State Meets With ISP and IST [expansion unknown] Officials"]

[Text] The state commissioner for scientific research, Bayona Ba Meya, spoke on Wednesday to those in charge of research in the Kinshasa higher technical and teacher-training institutions. This meeting followed others by the commissioner with research managers of institutes and centers of the University of Kinshasa.

On Wednesday, Citizen Bayona, who was formerly a professor at the university for 18 years and knows the problems that arise in higher and university education, tried to give a clear description of the general content of decree-law no 82 040 of 5 November 1982 organizing scientific research in Zaire. He then gave details of the current status of scientific research in our country. Finally, he discussed a number of problems in scientific research at the university.

Bayona Ba Meya, after stressing the Executive Council's policy determination to stimulate research, cited a number of facts that illustrate this determination. First, the establishment of a department of scientific research, then the decree on organization of scientific and technical research. The decree also defines a philosophy that gives the department a whole range of action resources and control over all research activities in Zaire, from the research centers under the department to the research branches of public and private enterprises, and the research centers of the university faculties and higher institutes.

In our opinion, the most important part of his speech was about the current status of scientific research in Zaire. In the state commissioner's view, it is inaccurate to analyze the crisis in Zaire's scientific research as a decline in activity. The heart of the problem is failure to communicate the results. This failure results in the public being unaware of what is really being done.

The unfortunate consequence of this situation is that on the international level Zaire presents itself as an inferior partner.

Citizen Bayona also raised the issues of training of researchers, the necessity to develop research programs appropriate to the country's needs, and economizing of resources through reorganization at the level of the university and the higher institutes, since the research centers and the publications have similar objectives - and a similar complex of perceived problems. He concluded his report by appealing to everyone to make specific suggestions on how to better tackle the various problems of scientific research, because what is needed more than ever is teamwork to achieve results with multiple effects. A very interesting debate gave everyone an opportunity to speak.

#### Basic Options Explained

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 11 Jun 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] Prof Bayona Ba Meya, the state commissioner for scientific research, on Thursday inaugurated the monthly party meeting for personnel of his department. It was held at the National Center for Coordination of Training (CENACOF). From now on, the meeting will be held on Tuesday (or Wednesday), of the first week of the month.

The head of the Department of Scientific Research said that officials of the department would be giving reports to the personnel, followed by comment sessions, on the subject of the party's basic options with respect to scientific research.

The commissioner devoted his remarks to the state decisions by the Central Committee on scientific research. Citing the N'Sele Manifesto, Professor Bayona listed four statements about scientific research that are contained in that basic document of the MPR. The first statement, he said, stresses the party's determination to promote the country's elite, who should become numerous and diversified. The existence of the Zaire Office of Post-University Studies (BEPUZA), which trains for doctorates in the hard sciences, is one positive reaction to the MPR desire.

The state commissioner noted that the N'Sele Manifesto affirms that scientific and artistic achievements must be encouraged. He emphasized that he has great hopes for the department's action program, which will soon be discussed by the Executive Council.

If the program is implemented, Professor Bayona continued, it will constitute a genuine commitment to scientific research for the country's development through the use and spreading of research results.

The state commissioner for scientific research spoke of the need to establish scientific prizes to reward deserving researchers, especially those whose research projects will have a special impact on national development.

Discussing the establishment of a national research organization, as envisaged by the party charter, Professor Bayona confirmed the view that the evolution of the plan to create a department of scientific research, which has now become a reality, came about through the existence of the National Research and Development Office (ORND) and the Institute for Scientific Research (IRS).

In regard to encouragement of scientists, Professor Bayona said that under the decree law of 5 November 1982 on science and technology policy the researchers will, from the material aspect, enjoy a special status that will preserve his financial benefits, while adequate equipment of laboratories and libraries will give him morale encouragement.

After reviewing resolutions of the congresses of 1977 and 1982 and the state decisions of the party's Central Committee on scientific research, the state commissioner defined three priorities: the restoration and reestablishment of traditional medicine in its complementary relationship to modern medicine, improvement of food quality, and publication of the results of research.

He stressed that these priorities had inspired the action program of the Department of Scientific Research that will be discussed by the Executive Council.

The next meeting of the department's personnel will be addressed by the department's secretary general on the subject of the preamble and introduction to the N'Sele Manifesto.

Professor Bayona, who had visited the Center for Geological and Mining Research on Wednesday, also informed the researchers that a temporary management committee will soon be installed, pending issuance of the legal documents organizing the various centers and institutes to be under the Department of Scientific Research. The state commissioner will soon be visiting these organizations in turn.

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TRAINING SESSION FOCUSES ON MPR INDOCTRINATION OF FAZ

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 8 May 83 pp 1, 10

[Text] On Monday, the ninth special session of the Makanda Kabobi Institute, offered for staff members and political educators in the Zairian Armed Forces, (FAZ) was inaugurated at the historic party complex in N'Sele.

As a result, between 9 and 25 May, i.e., for 16 days, a team of Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR) ideological educators will instruct the participants in their responsibilities at the current stage of the revolution, using various methods of communication, including public classes and exchanges of views concerning the ideology of the MPR and the options of our mass rally movement.

Some 200 officers will be chosen from among the commanders of the large units, staff officers as well as political educators, coming from all corners of the country. This session will be followed by the second annual meeting of FAZ political educators, which will make use of this gathering to assess the work accomplished since the 1982 meeting. On this occasion, they will examine the prospects offered after a stay of more than 2 weeks at the party school, where a session, devoted basically to the deepening of the ideological option and doctrine of the MPR, the party-state, is to be organized for them.

As is obvious, the choice made of the cadres in our armed forces to participate in this session reflects its importance, above all at this decisive moment, when the head of the party is urging all the citizens of Zaire to become imbued with the spirit of the MPR, its values based on faith in the future and the grandeur of our country, unconditional unity and nationalism, respect for our institutions and their hierarchy, love of labor and the desire to serve.

But why is a special session being offered to the commanders of large units, staff officers and political educators? To this question, we might also respond with another--why not a special session for them, since we know that all of Zaire is the MPR? "The state commissioner, the secretary of state, the judge, the ambassador, the professor, the military garrison commander, the director of a public department--all should above all realize that they are the party officials responsible for their sectors and they should conduct themselves as such," the father of the Zairian revolution said at the close of the sixth Central Committee session.

And so we focus on the importance of the organization of this work and the choice of participants. For it is entirely normal that those who are responsible for heading the various units in our armed forces should come to refresh themselves at the source, so as to be able in the end to pass on objective information to the militants under their command. This is necessary above all in this period when Zaire is urging reassertion of the primacy of the MPR, its leading and preeminent role in national life as a party rallying the masses, a movement of action, ideas and creative forces, the framework for agreement and the free difference of opinion, the single source of the legitimacy and legality of the regime in Zaire.

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ZAIRE

BRIEFS

FINANCIAL AGREEMENTS WITH FRANCE--Three financing agreements involving a total of 7,515,000 French francs were signed at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Saturday by the Executive Council and the French government, which were represented by Lengema Dulia, state commissioner for international cooperation, and Jean Kientz, French ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Zaire, respectively. The first financing agreement, in the amount of 2,650,000 French francs (fourth portion) pertains to the continuation of a market-gardening and fish-breeding project. The second financing agreement involves the sum of 3,115,000 French francs to cover the integrated rural development project in Ituri, phase two, first portion, while the third financing agreement, involving 1,750,000 French francs, will cover the continuation of a mining project. Messrs Lengema and Kientz said at the conclusion of the ceremony that the signing of these three financing agreements serves yet once again to consolidate the cooperative relations between France and Zaire. [Text] [Kinshasa ELIMA in French 13 Jun 83 p 10] 5157

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CALL FOR WEST TO SHIFT INVESTMENTS FROM RSA TO SADCC

MB141259 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1100 GMT 14 Jul 83

[Station commentary]

[Text] Presidents and prime ministers attending the Maputo summit of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference [SADCC] have raised an important question concerning the economic links between the African Continent and the West. In a communique at the end of their meeting on Monday, the SADCC leaders called for a significant transfer of development resources from South Africa to the SADCC member states. They pointed out that Western investment in South Africa has the effect of shoring up the apartheid system.

While it is true that many Western countries are also providing economic support for projects in SADCC countries, the amounts of money involved bear no comparison. Western investment in and bank loans for South Africa are enormous. Western economic cooperation with SADCC has been encouraging but on a smaller scale than the financial input which South Africa receives.

There are historical, political, and economic reasons for this situation. But, taking all these reasons into account, the SADCC countries are advising the West that it is time to change.

There are, of course, moral reasons for this. The South African apartheid system is detested throughout the world, and no country should be giving it assistance. The argument that Western investment and loans are beneficial to black South Africans was long ago proved false. But there are other important considerations that Western governments and businessmen should take into account. One is that Pretoria is carrying out military attacks on projects in the SADCC countries that are being financed by Western countries and organizations such as the European Economic Community. A reduction in Western economic input into South Africa would reduce Pretoria's capacity for this kind of aggression.

Secondly, there is a false assumption that economic links with South Africa are invariably more profitable to the West than links with independent African states. Western countries themselves benefit from helping to develop the economies of independent African countries. A case in point is

that Britain's trade with Nigeria now has a higher value than British trade with South Africa.

Thirdly, by pursuing its present policy of investment in South Africa, the West is effectively making it possible for Pretoria to create more instability and war. This would do nobody any good. As the SADCC leaders said on Monday: A transfer of resources from South Africa to the SADCC countries would be an investment in peace and stability.

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ZIMBABWE

BRIEFS

ZCTU DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL EXPELLED--The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, ZCTU, has expelled its deputy secretary general, Mr (Ismail Niziwe), from the organization. The publicity secretary of the ZCTU, Comrade (Elfigio Soko), said the decision was taken after Mr (Niziwe) failed to comply with repeated warnings to stop breaching the ZCTU's rules by issuing unauthorized press statements and also undermining the organization to external and internal forces opposed to the labor movement. In April, Mr (Niziwe) was suspended from the organization pending a decision of the 35-member council of the ZCTU. [Text] [MB181430 Harare Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 18 Jul 83]

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